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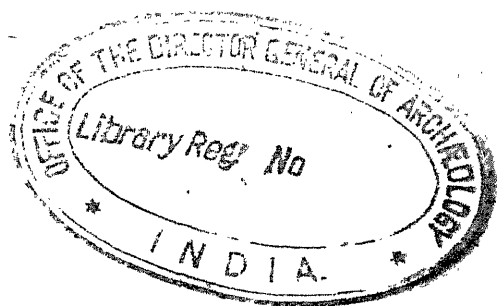
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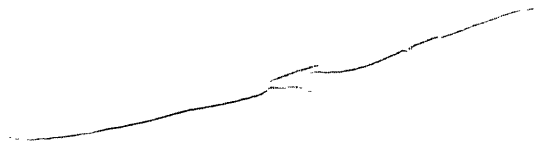
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# HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT HIRADO (1613—1622).

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER ON THE ORIGIN OF  
ENGLISH ENTERPRISE IN THE FAR EAST.

BY

DR. LUDWIG RIESS.

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## PREFACE.

THE original materials on which the following History of the early intercourse of the English East Indian Company with Japan is based, are, with few exceptions, preserved in the British Museum and in the India Office. While on a seven months leave of absence I received, on the 2nd of October 1893, permission from the Secretary of State for India to search and take notes from the Records at that Office relating to China and Japan. For about four weeks Mr. W. Foster, a clerk in the Registry and Records Department, kindly allowed me the use of his comfortable office, and offered me every facility for studying the volumes of Original Correspondence, the Copy Book of Richard Wickham, some ships' journals and a most valuable compilation written in 1824 and entitled "Supplement to China Materials. Book I. Japan." My sincere thanks are due for the great liberality and politeness shown to me.

Abstracts from the whole series of Original Correspondence, the East Indies volumes in the Public Record Office and the Court Minute Books have been published by the late W.

NOEL SAINSBURY in his admirable Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan. (Volumes I—III; London 1862—1878). Where on the following pages the quotation Cal. of State Papers occurs, this valuable work is referred to.

The “Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape Merchant in the English Factory in Japan 1615—1622” has been most carefully edited for the Hakluyt Society by the well-known Palaeographer and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, DR. EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON. In the Appendix he has added some important letters preserved among the Cotton Charters and in the India Office.

With two older publications of material relating to the history of the Hirado Factory I am more closely concerned in editing a few documents in Appendix I, II and III of this Monograph.

For copying the Japanese writings once belonging to the Hirado Factory and now preserved in the India Office and British Museum I am indebted to Y. UCHIDA, Esq., then Secretary in the Japanese Legation. The trouble he so kindly took to decipher the very carelessly written slips was not rewarded by any great result, as these papers proved to be only bills of *Kago* bearers or directions for delivering enclosures and presents, or jottings of a similar kind. But in one case I owe to his help a discovery which I could not have made after my return to Japan.

Tokyo, October 24th, 1898.



Handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is written in a cursive script and is mostly illegible due to the quality of the scan and the nature of the bleed-through. Some words are difficult to decipher but appear to include names and possibly dates or locations.

## CHAPTER I.

### ORIGIN OF THE EARLY ENGLISH COMMERCIAL EXPEDITIONS TO THE FAR EAST.

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In his famous Bull of May 4th, 1493 Pope Alexander VI drew "by the authority of Almighty God" an imaginary line from North Pole to South Pole so that all newly discovered non-Christian countries East of this line should fall to the Portuguese and those West of it to the Spaniards. At the same time he solemnly forbade "all persons of whatever position, even of Imperial and Royal rank" to visit for commercial or other purposes the countries and islands thus distributed without especial leave from the sovereigns of Portugal or Spain. It is, however, beyond doubt, that this summary division of the world for the exclusive benefit of the two pioneer nations in geographical discovery would not, even if the Pope's authority had never been questioned, have prevented the fiercest struggle for commercial and colonial expansion between the various members of the Romano-Teutonic community of nations. For the first infringement of the Pope's decision was caused by Magelhaen's admirable voyage across the Pacific Ocean in 1521. Spain has never given up her right to the newly discovered archipelago which certainly lay in the Portuguese sphere; even an alleged claim to the Moluccas where the Portuguese had already established themselves she surrendered only under certain conditions and for a money payment. Least of all would the English nation, new-



ly consolidated and still free from continental entanglements as it was in the beginning of Henry's VIII reign, forego the advantages to be derived from geographical discoveries in distant regions. SEBASTIAN CABOTA's voyage to the river Plate in April 1527 and the agitations of ROBERT THORNE prove that the English government did not consider the right of conquest and exclusive trade by virtue of geographical discovery given up for ever in obedience to the Papal Bull.

The eyes of English navigators were especially turned to "the mighty empire of Cathay" which they hoped to be able to reach either by the north-west or by the north-east passage. From the middle of the 16th century commences the long series of fruitless attempts to find the supposed shorter and, for English traders, more convenient routes to the Far East via the Arctic Sea. Queen ELIZABETH and her great statesman Lord BURGHLEY thought already in 1576 the chances of establishing a new connexion with China near at hand. They granted to a "Company of Cathay" large privileges and full authority to make laws, imprison and levy fines, together with the monopoly of trading through all countries and seas discovered by them. But from our present knowledge of the vast extension of the old and new world towards the North Pole we know that neither the Spaniards nor the Portuguese had anything to fear from English competition in their Spheres of Interest, so long as the English mariners and merchants concentrated their efforts upon the circumnavigation of Northern America and Northern Asia. No Cape of Good Hope would wink to MARTIN FROBISHER and his successors in those inhospitable regions.

A new period of maritime enterprize set in, when the

seven united provinces of the Netherlands were enabled with England's assistance to hold their own against Philip II. of Spain. To cut off the American supply of silver and gold from the coffers of the oppressor of Protestantism and to do him all possible harm throughout his world-wide possessions appeared in itself a patriotic deed for Dutchmen and Englishmen. For the Papal disposition of both Indies and the right of first discovery they cared nothing. FRANCIS DRAKE passed through the straits of Magalhaens, seized a Spanish silver ship off the Californian coast and appeared in October 1579 in the archipelago of the Moluccas. When he returned to Plymouth on September 28th 1580, he was not only the first English circumnavigator of the world but also the first naval hero of his nation. Eight years later THOMAS CAVENDISH followed in Drake's track, while SIR JAMES LANCASTER sailed in 1592 round the Cape to Penang and for some time became by his cruel acts of piracy the terror of the Straits of Malacca. In the meantime the destruction of the Spanish Armada in English waters had inspired the leading English merchants with a hope of getting leave to trade in the Portuguese settlements in the East. In October 1589 they stated in a memorial to the Queen, that "many ports in the countries bordering on the Indian and Ocean seas, and in the peninsula of India, might be visited with advantage by English ships, where sales may be made of English cloths, and other staple and manufactured articles, and the produce of those countries purchased."<sup>\*</sup> However, nothing was done to give effect to these mercantile projects in a period when English piracy became so notorious in

\* Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. East Indies, China and Japan. Edited by W. Noel Saintsbury. Vol. I. No. 239.

the Far East, that for a long time Chinese traders were convinced that all piratical acts from which they suffered were committed by Englishmen.

The Dutch traders and the Dutch authorities were more energetic. In April, 1595 the first Dutch mercantile fleet (of three ships) sailed for the East Indies. They made a long stay at Madagascar and, after arriving in the Pacific, made Jacatra their head quarters. The Dutch historian TIELE has passed a pretty severe condemnation on the behaviour of this fleet in Eastern waters. But when one of these ships returned richly laden, the whole country was full of joy and hopeful expectations. Six different companies were immediately formed for the trade with the Far East, and not fewer than 22 Dutch ships left in the year 1598 for the East Indies, receiving a large supply of guns and ammunition from the government and receiving instruction "to attack and overpower all merchants of the dominions of the King of Spain, those residing within them as well as those trading there." One of these twenty-two ships, with WILLIAM ADAMS as pilot-major, arrived in a wrecked condition in Japan in April, 1600.

The continued success of the Dutch traders to the Far East induced some English merchants to petition the Government for privileges allowing them to form a company and to undertake voyages to the East Indies (September 25th, 1599). But the Privy Council, afraid of the evil effect which the founding of such a company might have upon the negotiations of peace then being carried on with the Spanish Commissioners, considered it inexpedient for the moment and thereby caused a further delay of one year. After the conclusion of peace with Spain the English government satisfied itself, that

there were in the East Indies beside Portuguese territories many independent states over which the Portuguese had no control though they were allowed to trade with them. As there was no reason why the rulers of these countries should not grant liberty of trade to other merchants as well as the Portuguese, the final step was at last taken, and "a privilege for fifteen years granted by Her Majesty to certain adventurers for the discovery of the trade with the East Indies," on the last day of the 16th century. Thus on the birthday of the English East Indian Company\* the English mariner WILLIAM ADAMS who like other Englishmen had been engaged by the more enterprising Dutch Companies had already been for 9 months an exile in Japan.

The enormous growth of the East Indian Company in the 18th century makes it rather difficult for us to realise its small and poor beginnings. The Company sent five ships on the pioneer expedition 1601, but waited three years (until these ships had returned) before it ventured upon anything more. Then they despatched only four of them on the second voyage. The pecuniary success of these two expeditions was encouraging enough, yielding a clear profit of 95% to the share-holders. Two permanent English factories had also been established in the East; one at Acheen and one at Bantam. In the latter place the rivalry of the more powerful United Dutch Company (incorporated 1602) was, however, already keenly felt. It was a great disadvantage to the English Company, that the Dutch commenced so quickly their successful policy of conquest in the Moluccas; for they excluded from

\* This was the first instance of a Chartered Company with semi-sovereign rights in distant parts of the world.

their newly conquered island Ternate the trade of their rivals, while the Portuguese at Tidore allowed every comer to purchase as much spice as he could pay for.

The prospects of the Chartered Company as regards the trade of the East Indies were, however, somewhat uncertain as long as the Spanish authorities protested against the intrusion of English merchants in regions where the Portuguese had first settled and where even the Spaniards were restricted by their own government from attempting any commercial competition. From Madrid the Privy Council received again and again disquieting reports from the English ambassadors about the bad feeling created in the highest Spanish circles by the trespassing of the East Indian Company on the limits of the Portuguese colonial and mercantile reserve. The Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs CONDE DE LEMOS went even so far as to inform to SIR CHARLES CORNWALEYS, that "in coercions and punishments to restrain access to those countries he had an inclination rather to cruelty than clemency."† One can well understand that the English government greatly desired that some Englishman should establish trade connexions with some spot in the Far East beyond the Portuguese possessions. The East Indian Company had not shown energy enough to expect a speedy solution of the new problem from its slowly advancing expeditions. So an enterprising captain SIR EDWARD MICHELBORNE was commissioned to discover the countries of Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea and Cambaia and to trade with the people there notwithstanding any grant or charter to the contrary, i.e. setting aside on his behalf the privileges of the East Indian Company, SIR EDWARD set sail

† Cal. State Papers 371.

on December 5th, 1604 taking as his pilot-major the famous JOHN DAVYS† who had distinguished himself in search of the North-western passage and has given his name to a well-known strait between North America and Greenland. This expedition was conducted in the more piratical way of former English naval heroes, but did not reach its destination. When at Bintang near Singapore they seized a Japanese junk bound for Patani, stout resistance was offered, and DAVYS lost his life in the affray. MICHELBORNE's expedition was so decidedly a failure, that the East Indian Company preferred to drop a suit in Admiralty which had been instituted against him "concerning the damages the Company may sustain by any of his factories in the East Indies."

The period from 1609 to 1612 was of great importance for the growth of the Dutch supremacy in the Far East, while the English East Indian Company in consequence of maritime disasters made only a poor show. On the Banda islands and on Amboina the Dutch factories established the rule, that the whole crop of spices must be exclusively sold to them, and on the Moluccas they used their six forts and a standing garrison for enforcing the same principle as far as their influence prevailed. At Patani they engaged in legitimate trade and on the high seas they captured all Chinese and Portuguese ships they met with. Even at the entrance of Manila Bay they committed many acts of piracy, until they were kept at a respectful distance for some years after their defeat in a naval

† The proper spelling of the name of the great navigator is, as given above, DAVYS. On our modern maps, however, the form DAVIS' Strait has been adopted. We cannot bring our spelling into conformity with this modern usage, because there lived in the beginning of the 17th century another well-known mariner JOHN DAVIS who is often confounded with his greater namesake.

battle by FERNANDO DE SILVA on April 25th, 1610. We shall see that they also founded their factory at Hirado in Japan, when on the arrival of two of their shipwrecked countrymen good opportunity offered itself in 1609.

Let us now see what became of the unfortunate mariners of the Dutch ship *de Liefde* that arrived in Bungo in April, 1600. Of the 24 men that had survived, three died soon after landing so that only 21 remained. As their ship was wrecked near Uruga, while sailing to Yedo by order of Ieyasu, they lost their only opportunity for speedy return and had to take their chances in Japan, where for some time they were provided with food at the expense of the government. Most of them married Japanese women and found some employment or other. The Daimyo of Hirado MATSUURA HOIN knew how to profit by the arrival of the foreigners in Kiushiu. He engaged a number of them for casting cannons and teaching the art of gunnery to his subjects.\* For MATSUURA's motive in showing such interest in the newly arrived foreigners may easily be guessed. Formerly, as we learn from LINSCHOTEN's Navigations, Hirado had been the usual destination of Portuguese ships from Macao. But when the Daimyo of Omura offered them the splendid harbour of Nagasaki, they willingly went there, so that by the end of the 16th century Hirado saw almost nothing of foreign shipping,

\* We know of this employment of the Dutch exiles by the Daimyo of Hirado from a certificate given to OMAGA KISAYEMON by NISHI SEIYEMON. It is printed in SUGANUMA's *Hirado Boyekishi* p. 52 and runs: "Dutch system. I have now learned according to the command of MATSUURA HOIN and told everything about the use of cannons and you must not think lightly of it. I was told by MATSUURA to tell only my heir about it, but you are so well-known to me that I told you as well."

9, Keicho 12, month (January, 1605). Nishi Seiyemon.  
To Omaga Kisayemon."

while the flourishing state of Nagasaki had induced Hideyoshi to place it under the immediate control of the Central Government. We shall see that MATSUURA's sympathy with the Dutch exiles eventually became of great consequence.

The foremost among the shipwrecked party was undoubtedly the Englishman WILLIAM ADAMS. He was, as he himself in one of his charming letters informed his countrymen at Bantam, a native of Gillingham in Kent and had served an apprenticeship of twelve years at Limehouse with Master NICHOLAS DIGGINS. Now we know from the records of the East Indian Company that DIGGINS at his yard in Limehouse often built and repaired ships for the Indian voyages. We may therefore safely conclude that ADAMS was a shipwright by trade and that he had left a good professional reputation at the then most important places for building ships in England, Ratcliffe and Limehouse. In Japan he found occasion enough to practice his old profession. He had then served in Queen Elizabeth's ships as master and pilot. A year or two before the arrival of the Spanish Armada he entered into an engagement with the Barbary Company, in the employ of which he remained for eleven or twelve years, until in 1598 the Dutch Company appointed him pilot-major i. e. second in command of a fleet of five ships sailing to the Moluccas by way of the Magalhaens Straits. At that time, when peace had been concluded between England and Spain, it was by no means unusual for experienced English mariners to serve on board Dutch ships going to the East. To mention only one instance; in the same year in which ADAMS left his native country never to return again, the already mentioned famous northern explorer JOHN DAVYS took service as pilot of the



Dutch India-man "De Leeuw."† From all this it is clear, that Adams was not, as he is sometimes represented, a man of extremely low position, when he left England. The friends whom he mentions in his first letter were all men of substance and good standing. One of them, Thomas Best, became afterward General of a fleet of four ships and greatly distinguished himself at Acheen. In his letter to his unknown friends and countrymen at Bantam he writes: "I presume that amongst them some, either merchants masters or mariners must needs know me." Only a man of prominent position could, after a lapse of thirteen years, expect to be still remembered. Probably ADAMS would have been made General of one of the first expeditions of the English East Indian Company, if he had stayed at home a few years longer. ADAMS became separated from the other exiles because IYEVASU took him into his own employ and gave him a small estate in his own dominion at Hemimura near Yokosuka. The fact that the Englishman was so well informed and was even able to build seaworthy foreign ships, made him a great favourite with the ruler of Japan.

The exiles had for four years no means of sending any news home. But reliable indirect news of their arrival in Japan had already reached Holland in August 1601, sixteen months after their landing in Bungo. It was brought home by Captain OLIVIER VAN NOORD who had got it in January 1601, in a harbour of Borneo from a Portuguese called MANUEL LUIS who traded between Japan and the Malay Archipelago. As the company that had sent the fleet of 1598 to

† The second pilot of the Dutch fleet, of which Adams was pilot-major, was also an Englishman, TIMOTHY SHORTEN.

the Far East had in the meantime become bankrupt, nothing was done for the distant survivors of its unfortunate crew. But by the intermediation of ADAMS at the court of the Shogun, the former captain of the ship, JACOB QUAECKERNAECK, and the Cape Merchant MELCHIOR VAN SANTVOORT were permitted to quit Japan. The Daimyo of Hirado kindly granted them passage in a trading junk which he sent to Patani. They arrived there on the 2nd of December, 1605, but neither of them saw his native country again. QUAECKERNAECK took part in an attack made by a Dutch fleet on Malacca, and was killed in a sanguinary naval battle on the 18th August, 1606. MELCHIOR VAN SANTVOORT had no chance of being permanently employed by the Dutch East Indian Company. He engaged in trading on his own account between Japan and other places of Eastern Asia, taking up his abode eventually at Sakai.

It would have been a very strange thing, if ADAMS had not taken advantage of the return of his two fellow-sufferers to send letters to his wife and friends in England. Although no such early letter by him is now preserved,\* I think it quite safe to assume, that he did write and that, with some delay, his letters were safely delivered. For we know that various letters were brought out for him by the ship "the Globe" leaving England in 1611 to be transhipped to a Dutch ship sailing from Bantam or Patani to Japan. Among the correspondents who availed themselves of this opportunity were (besides his wife) the governor and leading spirit of the East

\* The undated fragment of ADAMS' letter to his wife published by PURCHAS and reprinted in RUNDALL's "Memorials of Japan" is probably a portion of a letter written in 1605 and entrusted to QUAECKERNAECK and MELCHIOR VAN SANTVOORT,

Indian Company SIR THOMAS SMYTHE and an old friend of Adams named JOHN STOKLES who was then "Committee" of the same company. They advised him, that they were going to send a ship to Japan to establish trade there. Before ADAMS (1612) received these first greetings from home in reply to his letters, he had written again to the English factory at Bantam, asking them to forward the news to his friends at home from whom he had not yet heard. Two copies of this letter of October 23rd 1611 are still preserved in the India Office, and it forms No. 1 of Rundall's little collection. It is often stated that this "communication led to the opening of commercial intercourse between England and Japan."\* This view is untenable; the expedition for Japan started from England on April 18th, 1611, i. e. six months before Adams wrote his letter in Japan. It was by means of his earlier unfortunately lost letters that William Adams suggested to his countrymen the advisability of establishing a factory in Japan. In this as in many other enterprizes in the beginning of its career the English East Indian Company simply followed the example set by its more powerful Dutch rival.

\* Cal. of State Papers, East Indies. Vol. I. p. 230.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE FOUNDATION OF THE FACTORY AT HIRADO

BY

GENERAL JOHN SARIS.

---

#### I. THE FIRST EIGHT WEEKS IN HIRADO.

When ADAMS' companions QUAECKERNAECK and SANTVOORT arrived at Patani in December 1605, they brought with them the Shogun's license for the Dutch nation to trade in Japan. That this favour, amounting to an invitation to the Dutch East Indian Company to establish a factory in Japan, was obtained through ADAMS' influence at the Court, is proved by a letter of the Dutch factor at Patani, VICTOR SPRINCKEL, to ADAMS, assuring him that the Company "would not be ungrateful" to those that presumably "not without great expense, trouble, smartness and labour" had exerted themselves on its behalf.\* However, the constant naval wars of the Dutch with the Portuguese in the Far East prevented the speedy forwarding of Iyeyasu's first letter to the Stadtholder, and the fructification of the privileges of trade granted to the Dutch. Two years and a quarter after the arrival of these first Japanese documents at Patani, the factor of this place found it advisable to write to IYEYASU and ADAMS explaining the long delay in the answer from Holland. Both letters were

\* This letter is published in "Zes Jaren uit het Leven van Wemmer van Berchem, gevolgd door Iets over onze vroegste Bstrekingen met Japan, twee geschiedkundige Bijdragen door Mr. L. C. D. van Dijk." Amsterdam 1858, p. 19,

accompanied by complimentary presents and taken to Japan by MELCHIOR VAN SANTVOORT who returned to Japan in the spring of 1608, thus bringing about the first intercourse between the rapidly expanding Dutch East Indian Company and Japan.

But before anything of IYEFASU's friendly acts was known in Amsterdam, the Council of the Company had made already an earnest attempt to come as soon as possible into official connection with the Japanese government. The reason for their sudden alertness was, that the Republic since 1607 was negotiating with Spain for a settlement of their differences and was ready to offer concessions in the East for the recognition of her independence at home. The Dutch merchants fearing to become again by international treaty excluded from the Indian trade, addressed their government in the same style as their English friends had done seven years previously. They adopted even the very words of the English Memorial of 1600 of which they handed in a Dutch translation.† In this situation, it became the chief consideration of the "Bewindhebbers" to establish as many new factories and trade connections as possible, before the proposed treaty with Spain was ratified and proclaimed in the East. The fleet that left Texel on the 22nd of December 1607 received orders to send at least one of its ships to Japan, deliver there a letter of the Prince-Stadtholder and found a factory for regular trade. Complying with this order two Dutch ships arrived from Patani on the 6th of July 1609 at Hirado where Jacques Specx became the first head of the new factory of the Dutch East Indian Company.

† This Dutch translation is printed in DE JONGE's *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie*. Vol. I, p. 278 ff.

It was twenty-one months after this event that General JOHN SARIS received his commission to sail with three ships to the East Indies and to establish a factory in Japan. (April 19th, 1611.) After a tedious voyage his flagship "the Clove" arrived at Bantam on the 23rd of October, 1612. There the Commander and the Merchants were certainly shown ADAMS' long letter (No. I of Rundall's edition) written in Japan just one year and one day previously. AUGUSTIN SPALDING had already sent by a Dutch ship an answer to his exiled countryman asking for more particular information about the prospects of trade in Japan. ADAMS had received it in August, 1612, but postponed his reply until January 12th of the following year, when he learned that an English ship was coming. This long delay was of great consequence; for now his valuable advice came too late. Two days after it was written, SARIS set sail from Bantam (on January 14th). On the way he tried to establish commercial relations with various Spice islands, but was greatly inconvenienced by the jealousy and the threatening attitude of his Dutch competitors. When "the Clove" at last arrived in the harbour of Hirado† (June 11th, 1613), the officers and merchants on board could not believe any more in the true friendship of the Dutch traders whom they found established in the little town where the Daimyo of the island resided.

The most reliable information about the beginnings of English intercourse with Japan is found in SARIS' carefully kept Ship's Journal, of which a fair copy is still preserved in the India Office. PURCHAS in his famous "Pilgrimages"

† The crew of the Clove consisted of 63 Englishmen, 1 Japanese, 1 Spaniard and 5 Negroes.

published it as early as 1625, but with so many additions and alterations that the present writer has thought it advisable to print a more authentic version of it by way of Appendix.† Here we give a short narrative of the foundation of the English factory from all reliable sources available.

On the afternoon of the day on which *the Clive's* salute announced her safe arrival in the straits of Hirado, General SARIS was honoured by the visit of the still active ex-Daimyo MATSUURA SHISONOBU HOIN\* and his grandson the reigning Daimyo MATSUURA TAKANOBU HIZEN NO KAMI. They stayed some time on board and were entertained with "a Concert of good Music." An interpreter had been engaged at Bantam; it was a Japanese, JOHN JAPON, who translated into Malay, which language SARIS had acquired during his former stay of several years at Bantam as factor of the English East India Company. A Royal letter brought for the Daimyo was joyfully received but its opening deferred until ADAMS should come to translate it himself. The name by which ADAMS was known in Japan (*Anjin*) SARIS caught in the form of ANGE which, he learned, meant "pilot" in the Japanese tongue. An express messenger was at once despatched to Yedo to summon ADAMS; but, for reasons with which we shall become acquainted, the English had to wait 48 days for the arrival of their countryman. In the meantime SARIS sent suitable presents to a number of influential people and entertained them liberally. He had been informed by a Dutch resident of Batsjan, one of the Moluccas, who the most important personages for foreign traders at Hirado were.

† PUSCHAS' publication is also reproduced in RUNDALL's "Memoirs of the Empire of Japan." P. 46—56 and 58—65.

\* The FORNESAMA of the Dutch and English Reports.

Thus he knew that NOBUSAMA was a near relation to the Daimyo and that Shimandono (Terazawa Shima no Kami) who was passing through Hirado on his way to Osaka, was the powerful bugyo of Nagasaki and Daimyo of Karatsu. With the chief of the Dutch Factory HENRIQUE BROUWER, he had some misunderstandings in consequence of some little intrigues on the part of the Dutchman.

During these seven weeks of waiting for ADAMS, the English at Hirado had rather an easy time. They rented a house from the Captain of the Chinese merchants at Hirado, ANDREAS DITTS, for the moderate price of 19£ a year and had it fitted up for their residence. SARIS with about one-third of his officers and men took lodgings in it, and the lead, powder, English cloth, Indian copper and a long list of sundries which the ship contained were stored in its godown. A few little things were disposed of to the Daimyo at prices to be ascertained by future regular sales of such articles. Servants and artizans were engaged, but otherwise no business was transacted. SARIS' attempt to engage MELCHIOR VAN SANTVOORT for the English factory failed, because the Dutchman preferred his independent life as trader and navigator, looking upon Sakai, where his wife and child lived, as his home for the rest of his life. With another of ADAMS' old companions, JOHN YOOSSEN van Lodenstein, the overcautious English Captain came into less pleasant connection in consequence of BROUWER's trickery. Otherwise the time was spent in entertainments and social intercourse; SARIS distributing complimentary presents with a free hand in order to make a favourable impression among his new friends.

It was not ADAMS' fault that his countrymen had to



wait such a long time. He had left a letter with SANSABURO, his agent at Hirado, to be delivered to the Captain of the first English ship that would arrive. In this he had declared his willingness to serve the East India Company and had asked to be summoned immediately by messenger. This messenger seems to have passed Shizuoka\* without knowing that ADAMS was at the time staying there at IYEFASU's court; not finding him in Yedo, or at his house at Uraga he returned by the same route, when he succeeded in delivering his letter to ADAMS who was still staying at IYEFASU's court at Shizuoka. ADAMS hurried at once to Hirado where he arrived within 17 days. The unfortunate messenger who had not thought of inquiring after ADAMS at the place where he so often stayed on official business, was severely punished for this carelessness. The authorities at Hirado banished him for ever from their dominions.

But the long expected ADAMS was not so entirely at the disposal of SARIS and his merchants as they had expected. He had a great deal of his own business at Hirado. Despite a most honourable reception and warm invitation to stay with them, he went to his agent's house, where a St. George's flag was put up to signify his presence; nor would he allow the English merchants to accompany him, which offended them greatly. As places where he might be found, when wanted, he mentioned his own house and the Dutch Factory, upon which the English looked already as their most dangerous rival. There stayed at his house as his guests some Spanish and Portuguese mariners whose dealings at Hirado were

\* All names of Japanese places are in this Monograph given in their modern forms, with the exception of such well-known names as Yedo, Yesso, etc.

rather mysterious and suspicious in the eyes of the English merchants. ADAMS seemed not so entirely inspired with patriotic motives as they had been inclined to believe. He rather willingly accepted any business which offered and even served as interpreter to men far below his station. Desirous to see what reputation ADAMS enjoyed with the Dutch, SARIS importuned him to take the merchant RICHARD COCKS with him to a banquet given in his honour in the Dutch Factory. The report of this spy was, that the treatment was "but ordinary" and that he was asked to send accounts for goods left in his charge at several places and for his own expenses and troubles on their behalf. COCKS did not perceive that they greatly respected him. Thus, within the first week of personal intercourse with his countrymen at Hirado, ADAMS lost considerably in their estimation.

Probably ADAMS had also reasons of his own for showing more reserve than was natural under the circumstances. He had written to Bantam, that the English ship should be sent to the eastern part of Japan where the great city of Yedo offered good facilities of for selling their merchandize and where there were no dangerous rocks. But as we know already, neither this good advice nor the chart of the route to the Kwanto accompanying it, had come to the knowledge of SARIS who was on the point of leaving Bantam, when ADAMS wrote his letter at Hirado. It seems, however, as though SARIS was so much taken by the kindness of MATSUURA HOIN, that he would not listen to ADAMS' oral advice to remove with all his men and things to Eastern Japan. He had not even told the Daimyo of Hirado that he was the bearer of a Royal Letter to the Shogun; nor had he made any preparations for

the journey to the Court. ADAMS insisted on the necessity of proceeding at once to Shizuoka and Yedo and selected suitable presents for the high personages whose favour they stood in need of. On the eighth day after his arrival he accompanied the General and his suite on their journey to the two courts at Shizuoka and Yedo.

## II. GENERAL SARIS' JOURNEY TO YEDO.

With a suite of eighteen men (one half of them English) General SARIS and ADAMS left Hirado on August 6th, 1613 in a swift galley of sixty oars placed at their disposal by MATSUURA HOIN. It took them exactly a month to reach Shizuoka. On August 27th they took river boats from Osaka to Fushimi, where a *Kago* and nineteen horses were provided for them free of charge. On the 8th of September SARIS was admitted to IYÉYASU's presence to deliver the Royal Letter to the Imperial Secretary Honda Kozuke no Suke who handed it to IYÉYASU. In vain had SARIS attempted to break through the rules of Japanese Court etiquette and get leave to hand the letter personally to the addressee. From Japanese sources we learn that ADAMS translated the letter into Kana, from which it was rewritten in ideographic style.† We shall soon see that for another still more interesting document the same process was resorted to.

† I have not been able to find any trace of King JAMES' letter in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, or the India Office. Nor is it inserted in PURCHAS' publication. The Japanese translation of it is, however, still extant in the original and (with some clerical errors) printed in SUGANUMA's *Dai Nihon Shōgyōshi* p. 514. It runs: "*We, JAMES, by the grace of God King for these eleven years of the three countries Great Britain, France and Ireland. The greatness of the splendid fame of His Highness the Lord Shogun of Japan is notorious and*

And now we get a glimpse of IYEFASU's geographical ideas, which reflect great credit upon the veteran statesman. ADAMS narrates in his letter to the East Indian Company how he was called in after the General's departure and what personal conversation he had with IYEFASU. After some enquiries about the "greatness and power" of the King of England and many points connected with SARIS' plans, IYEFASU asked ADAMS, whether the arrival of the English ship was not to some extent also connected with the discovery of "other countries further to the north-west and north." ADAMS' answer: "our country still continues to spend much money in

*well-known in our country. Therefore Captain General JYUWAN SARIS and his suite have been sent as representatives to pay their respects to His Highness the Shogun of Japan. If there would be intercourse, the conditions of both countries would improve and become mutually well-known and our Empire would be greatly satisfied. It is desirable that from now many trading vessels should be ordered to sail annually, making the merchants of both parties befriend themselves and exchange their commodities. Moreover the merchants may by the kindness and favour of His Highness the Lord Shogun be allowed to stay in his country, so that both sides may become ever more friendly towards each other. If that be the case, the Japanese merchants are also invited in to our country to get the valuable wares of Japan produced and exchanged here. Thus there will be everlasting intercourse and honest trade with Japan, as the Lord Shogun will please understand.*

*The King of Great Britain in his Palace OSHIMESHITA (Westminster). King JAMES. Reikishi (Rex.) To His Highness the Lord Shogun of Japan."*

I think a special letter written by King James to the ruler of Japan would have been differently worded and considered so important, that SARIS would have at once given notice of it at his arrival and pressed for an opportunity of delivering it. The whole affair becomes, however, intelligible if we refer to an entry in the Court Minutes of the East Indian Company of February 19th 1607. There it is stated that "the King's letters to the Princes of India were translated into Portuguese, lymned and engrossed by Mr. Segar for His Majesty's signature." (Cal. of State Papers, vol. I, p. 149). Probably every ship sailing to the Far East took some of these copies with it to use as occasion occurred. One such form was now made use of, when ADAMS wanted a Royal letter to be handed to IYEFASU and HIDEYADA. The answer of IYEFASU is simply an expression of thanks for the presents received and an announcement of some trifles given in return. It ends very quaintly: "*Take care of yourself at this change of the season. 18 year Keicho, Mizunoto-ushi, end of autumn, first decade of the month.*" The alleged English translation given by Purchas bears only a very faint resemblance to the original.

the discovery thereof," was literally true, for as late as the year 1611 the East Indian Company had voted an annual grant of £300 for encouraging attempts for the discovery of the north-western passage. IYEXASU then obtained from his favourite his opinion that there was an open way, and that it was very short, as he pointed out on a chart of the world which he caused to be brought in. On IYEXASU's further enquiry whether the English "had knowledge of land lying hard by his country, to the north, called Yesso and Matsumai," ADAMS had to confess his ignorance, having never seen it on any map or globe. IYEXASU told ADAMS that the people there were his subjects and had "a strong town and a castle." He gave some more particulars which were probably all the fresher in his memory, because only five months previously he had granted a new charter to MATSUMAI SHIMA NO KAMI, the Lord of those regions. He seems also to have added something about *Tarakai*, as the island of Sachalien was then called, and about "*Kamsaska*" on the sea of "*Iattan*,"—being not far from Yesso towards the north, for ADAMS, who was very enthusiastic about the discovery of the northern passages, "gathered," that the friendly inhabitants of Yesso were neighbours of the "Tartars" who in their turn adjoined the Cam "which ADAMS thought himself justified in placing on the "borders of Cathay."† Thus from the mouth of the great

† In order to explain ADAMS' geographical ideas, based on this interview with IYEXASU, I give from KLAPROTH's translation of the *San koku tsu ran to setsu* 三國通覽圖說 (written 1783) and from two other books (written 1720 and 1753) the following passages translated into English: "To the North of Yesso there is another island, separated from the North point of Yesso by straits 6 or 7 *ri* broad. It is called *Karafio*, but its real name is *Tarakai*. There are 22 villages, and the whole circumference of the island is said to be 300 *ri*. The writer cannot guarantee the accuracy of this assertion, for several geographers

ruler of Japan, by the means of a highly spirited castaway, the names of Yesso and Matsumai and some particulars about their position were made known in England for the first time, and encouragement offered to visit those regions.

So graciously was IYEWASU disposed towards ADAMS' new companions, that he ordered SARIS to write down what privileges he wanted. The first draft presented by the English General to the Japanese Secretary of State was considered to be too long, and an abridged one was drawn up with ADAMS' help. An authentic copy of this petition for privileges (signed by SARIS and dated "Serongo in Japan, October 7th) I discovered in 1893 among the Cotton Charters in the British Museum; it is given in Appendix No. III of this paper together with another alleged document of which we shall have to speak presently. ADAMS translated it, using Kana and such Ideographs as he had at his command, or more probably he got it translated for him by the poorly educated Japanese interpreter in their suite. One copy of this badly written Japanese document is still extant in the archives of the Historiographical Bureau; it is re-produced in facsimile in the Appendix. Another copy, at the end of which the name of the petitioner Captain JOHN SARIS is added, was taken to England. It has there been facsimilised in Purchas' Pilgrimages (Edition of 1624) and is erroneously described as the Charter of Privileges granted and signed by IYEWASU. As

call this country simply an island of eastern *Tuttan* or *Tartary*," (p. 187—188). "*Karasto* is surrounded by the North-west sea which is that of *Tuttan* or *Tartary*," (p. 191). "In the time of the Shogun HIDEYADA (1605—1622) the Prince of *Matsumai* . . . . sent some persons to *Karasto*, to draw a map of that country . . . . From *Matsumai* to *Sannai* one sails with a favourable wind in seven days. From the latter place one may with a good wind arrive within 20 days in *Tarakai*," (p. 192—193).

far as I am aware no Japanologue has ever taken the trouble to point out that this eldest typographical facsimile of Japanese made in England is not what it is represented to be, and that its original was, from a calligraphic standpoint, a very poor production.

The Charter eventually granted by IYEFASU on October 1st, differs greatly from the petition on which it was based. It gave leave to English merchants to trade all over Japan and to reside in Yedo. It added, that "the lot which they desired to build their houses on would be granted to them *in Yedo*" and it obliged them to send a list of their wares to the Court in case the Shogun might wish to buy anything. We shall see that this genuine Charter was returned to the successor of IYEFASU in 1616, so that it was not available when PURCHAS published his great work ; his mistake in inserting another piece of Japanese writing in its stead may therefore be explained and accounted for. But how are we to account for the great discrepancy between the promise of IYEFASU regarding the privileges of the English and the actual contents of this Charter ?

The explanation is to be found in the strong desire of the old statesman to have the English factory established in Yedo. In the course of the conversation with ADAMS of which we have spoken above, he was very glad to hear, that ADAMS still believed to be able to persuade SARIS to establish the factory near the Court either of Shizuoka or of Yedo. But all attempts of ADAMS to make his countrymen follow the advice which he had already given them in his long letter written at the beginning of the year 1613 were destined to be fruitless.

After a price-list of their commodities had been delivered

to IYEFASU's mintmaster, the whole party travelled (at Iyeyasu's expense) to Yedo to deliver their presents to the Shogun and his councillors. It is worth noticing, that SARIS in his journal gives to HIDEADA the same title as to MATSUMAI HOIN viz. "King," while IYEFASU appears always as "the Emperor." The value of the presents given to the Shogun was also only one half of what Iyeyasu had received, while their secretaries were treated in the same manner.

On his way back SARIS spent four days with ADAMS at his house at Uraga. The harbour was closely examined and found to be excellent. But ADAMS could not persuade his guest to remove the newly founded factory to this place. SARIS was desirous of buying a Spanish ship riding at anchor there; but the price of 100£ asked by ADAMS as agent of the owners seemed to him "very dear;" he bought only some Kioto ware of which ADAMS kept a stock at Uraga on account of some Spaniards. After giving some little presents to ADAMS' wife, sister-in-law and mother-in-law, SARIS and his whole party returned to Shizuoka, where they arrived on September 29th. There they had to wait until October 8th, until IYEFASU's answer to King James' letter was delivered to them.† Probably the Charter although dated October 1st was only handed to them on October 7th; this would best explain the addition of this date on the copy of the Petition now preserved in the British Museum. The presents for the King of England they received on their way back in Kioto on presentation of an order from IYEFASU. These consisted of ten painted screens or *biobu*, as SARIS calls

† The Japanese version is printed in *Suganuma's Dai Nihon Shogyoshi*, p. 517.



them using the Japanese term.† On November 6th, 1613, exactly three months after their departure, they safely returned to the English house at Hirado.

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### III. THE LAST MONTH OF SARIS' SOJOURN IN JAPAN.

(November 6th—December 5th, 1613).

The merchants left behind at Hirado while SARIS and ADAMS went to Court, nourished their old grievance against the self-reliant pilot who knew that he was indispensable, and did not seek their company. When ADAMS was sent to Nagasaki to search for seven runaway sailors who, during SARIS' absence, had deserted their ship, the clerks of the English house brought their complaints before the General and the Cape Merchant. They even doubted whether ADAMS could still be considered an Englishman, because he gave "so admirable and affectionate commendations of the country, as is generally thought . . . that he is a naturalized Japanner." SARIS was convinced that at least in one case the complaint of the juniors was sufficiently substantiated. After ADAMS' return SARIS and the Cape Merchant COCKS acquainted him with the sad fact, that his *banto* whom he had left with the English merchants as interpreter and caterer had abused this position of trust by "squeezing" in many a bargain he settled for the Factory. It could be proved that on the *sake* bill alone he

† These screens seem to have been of second rate quality only. When they arrived in London, the Court of Directors resolved on the 20th of December 1614: "Screens sent to His Majesty from Japan, not being so good as some the Company have, to be exchanged." (Cal. of State Papers, vol. I, No. 843).

had made more than two taels or ten shillings. The large-minded seaman who was better acquainted than his countrymen with the customs of the country, was to SARIS' surprise not so very indignant over the "dishonest and villainous dealing" of his man. When they argued it out with him, ADAMS was much offended at the moralising tone assumed about such a trifle and even lost his temper, which of course aggravated the unpleasant affair in the eyes of SARIS and COCKS. One may still perceive the sincere disgust of the General from the solemn entry in his Journal. But in their direct business dealings misunderstandings also arose. When ADAMS' bill for the Kioto ware bought at Uraga was to be settled, he expected payment in Spanish Ryals, then the international coin all over the East. But the Company preferred to pay him in Japanese money, and reduced the price by 5%, because in exchanging foreign money for Japanese currency such a high discount was then usual. SARIS was probably in possession of a large amount of Japanese money, because a Dutchman who wished to go home in "the Clove" had paid his passage money in the currency of the country without claiming any premium. In vain did ADAMS protest that he thereby lost 5%, as he had to pay Ryals to the Spaniards for whom he had acted as agent; SARIS found this demand "unreasonable," he tells us in his Journal.

Thus the relations between General SARIS and his principal assistant were, towards the end of his stay in Japan, very unpleasant. ADAMS was all the more justly offended, because his services to the Company had been up to that time quite voluntary and practically gratuitous. It is true that SARIS gave him and his family presents to the value of 167

Ryals or 42£, for which ADAMS returned only trifles, besides paying for the keep of his 18 fellow travellers during their four days stay at Uruga. But even leaving his contributions in kind aside, these remains the fact, that ADAMS had been in the service of the Company for 147 days, when he returned to Hirado. Could presents to the value of 42£ (i. e. less than 6 sh. a day) be considered a fair equivalent for the services of a man to whose personal influence at Court, and long experience in the country the success of the expedition was principally due? We must not forget, however, that a further reward was offered to ADAMS. SARIS had instructions from the Company, "if at your departure from Japan the said WILLIAM ADAMS shall importune you to transport him to his native country, to visit his wife and children, . . . . to accommodate with as convenient cabin as you may, and all other necessaries which your ship may afford him." ADAMS seems indeed to have thought of going home and returning to Japan with the Company's ship; for he got leave from IYEFASU to do so, being "not little joyful" at this success. But after his return to Hirado "by some discourtesies offered me by the General" he changed his mind, as he wrote to his friend Captain Brest,† then at Bantam; he also wrote to the Company, that the reason why he would not go home with "the Clove" was "for diverse injuries done against me; the which were things to very strange and unlooked for." In neither letter did he mention his grievances, "leaving it as he said to others to make relation

† Cal. of State Papers, No. 670. Partly printed in RUNDALL pp. 75—77. That Capt. BREST was the addressee, is evident from an entry in the Court Minutes on October 12, 1614. See Cal. of State Papers, vol. I, p. 327.

thereof." In consequence of this generous attitude of ADAMS we are unable to do him full justice in this case, being limited for our information to the few entries in his adversary's Journal. But from incidental passages in the later correspondence of the English merchants in Japan we learn that some of them, especially WICKHAM,† disliked ADAMS greatly, and that they afterwards admitted, that they had been ungrateful and unjust to him.

When asked by SARIS whether he was willing to return with him, ADAMS had the politeness, to excuse himself by explaining that he would rather use a later opportunity because he was poor and wished "to get something" before his return. At this time ADAMS was indeed in somewhat straitened circumstances, not because his many enterprises at different places did not offer fair opportunities, but because he did not attend sufficiently to the details of his business and because his capital was not large enough to keep so many concerns (i. e. those Uraga, Yedo, Shizuoka, Kioto and Hirado) going.

An offer was now made to ADAMS to engage his services for the East India Company. He was quite willing to serve and (on the 24th of November) accepted after much bargaining a salary of 100£ a year, his original demand having been 144£; limiting the term of his engagement however to "such time as God shall send the Clive into England or answer of her arrival, and return of the worshipful Company's answer, whether they will discover to the North-west or no."

How little SARIS thought of the business qualities or even of the character of the newly appointed ADAMS, is clear from

† RICHARD WICKHAM, senior clerk following immediately after the Cape Merchant in rank, received 40£ a year.

a "Memorandum," written only eleven days after signing the contract, and left for the guidance of RICHARD COCKS in the management of the factory. RUNDALL† has printed a part of it but has left out the most damaging passages. This venomous indictment of WILLIAM ADAMS runs :

"And for Mr. Adams he is only fit to be master of the junk, and to be used as linguist at court, when you have no employment for him at sea. It is necessary you stir him, his condition being well known unto you as to myself; otherwise you shall have little service of him, the country affording great liberty, whereunto he is much affected. The forced agreement I made with him you know could not be eschewed, the Flemings and Spaniards making false proffers of great entertainment and himself more affected to them than his own nation, we wholly destitute of language.

*"In any hand let him not have the disbursing of any money of the Company's, either for junks or otherwise; for his usual speeches is so large and his resolution so set upon getting. I entreat you, he may always have one with him to pay out and to write the particulars of what is disbursed in all such matters as you shall employ him in."*

"You shall not need to send for any farther order to the Emperor for the setting out of the junk,† it being an article granted in the charter, as by the copy thereof in English left with you will appear.° Yet will Mr. ADAMS tell you that he

† Memorials of the Empire of Japan, p. 78. The missing passage in printed in Italics.

† Then fitted out to sail to Siam.

° There is no article to that effect in the instrument referred to. COCKS informed SARIS on the 10th of December, 1613, that he was mistaken, and that ADAMS was right. The passage is reprinted from PURCHAS in RUNDALL, p. 81.

cannot depart without a license which will not be granted except he go up. Believe him not ; neither neglect that business : for his wish is but to have the Company bear his charges to his wife.† Yet rather than that he shall leave you and betake himself to the Spaniards or Flemings, you must make a virtue of necessity and let him go, *leaving his brother-in-law to follow his business.*"

After a careful study of all extant materials for the history of the English factory in Japan we can only endorse RUNDALL's judgement : " In all this Captain SARIS was wrong and unjust." ADAMS remitted the 20£ lent to his wife in England immediately after SARIS' departure‡ and proved most reliable and exact in his accounts with the Company. COCKS had no occasion to be lenient with ADAMS, but felt greatly obliged to him for many services and acts of kindness, even after his engagement by the Company had expired.

† Viz. to Uraga near Yedo.

‡ He seems to have made regular remittances for his wife in England. 1617 he sent 60£, 1618 in February 50£. (Cal. of State Papers II. 278.)

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE PROSPECTS OF TRADE IN JAPAN AT SARIS' DEPARTURE FROM HIRADO.

"The Clove" had to sail under ballast from Hirado to Patani; but General SARIS who took with complimentary letters from IYEXASU and MATSUURA HOIN to the King of England had nevertheless hopes of a future trade in Japan. During his journey home\* he drew up a report to the East India Company about the goods saleable in Japan and the prices ruling there. In the long list we find but few things of English produce, among them chiefly woollen cloth, lead, tin, iron, steel, and all sorts of glassware. Dutch linen, Spanish soap, Spanish leather, honey, wax for candles, and alum are other staples recommended in his list that would have to be brought from Europe. Of things of a more aesthetic nature we find "pictures, some lascivious, others of stories of wars by sea and land (the large the better, at 2—3 taels)," "paintings for women's faces," "large Amber Beads" and "Branch Corals, of which five or six good specimens well polished and enclosed in handsome cases would enhance the sale of the remainder." That he expected *copper* to be worth importing to Japan, where it would fetch 8—9 taels per picul, is rather

\* He arrived at Plymouth in the beginning of November, 1614, having left Hirado 11 months previously, on December 5th, 1613. There were 12 Japanese seamen on board, engaged to serve on the ship on its whole journey to England. They returned to Hirado after an absence of three years nine months. The unexpected long stay in England had caused them losses for which they claimed compensation. COCKS had much trouble with them, as he says in his Diary (vol. II., p. 297) under date August 18th, 1617.

astonishing. Most articles recommended are, however, of Eastern origin, as Sugar, Raw Silk, Silk Stuffs, Pepper, Nutmegs, Camphor and Aloe Wood. In return Japan would offer for exportation: Rice, Salpetre, Hemp, Cotton-wool, "a blue Dye almost as good as Indigo," Brimstone, "rich writing Boxes, Trunks, Cups and Dishes of all sorts and of most excellent varnish,"† and Silver and Gold "in great abundance." He added, however, that gold was so dear in Japan, that it would yield but little profit. We know from a calculation of the Dutch that about that time the relation of gold to silver in Japan was 1, 13, which they also considered very high; it was at this rate that a Chinese merchant at Hirado bought eight gold Oban from the English Factory in 1614. When SARIS left Europe, silver was there only 12 times cheaper than gold.‡ In conclusion he thought it unnecessary to send any further letters and presents to the Emperor; they ought to be regularly addressed to MATSUURA HO'N,<sup>o</sup> "who was very loving to the English" and to his son MATSUURA HIZEN NO KAMI. The Court of the East India Company resolved on the 14th of November, 1614 to send to "the rich and populous" country of Japan such commodities as SARIS had recommended.§ We shall very soon see, that the Company derived but little profit from SARIS' detailed advice.

† SARIS recommended the East Indian Company to invest from 200 to 400£ in these Japan wares.

‡ Gold was largely imported from China through Portuguese and Chinese merchants. The exportation of Japanese *Koban* commenced in 1664 and lasted until 1725. The figures given by ARAI HAKUSEKI and GEEBTS are, however, very great exaggerations. See the present writers essay in the "Zeitschrift für Social-und Wirthschaftsgeschichte" vol. VI. (1898).

<sup>o</sup> He was already dead, when SARIS arrived in London.

§ See Court Minutes of the I. E. C. 7—14 November, 1614, Cal. of State Papers vol. I., p. 789.



When "the Clove" left Japan on December 5th, 1613, the factory at Hirado was started with a capital of 23,310 taels, (7,000£) of which amount, however, 500 taels had been advanced by MATSUURA HOIN and 221 taels by MATSUURA HIZEN NO KAMI. Nearly one half of this capital consisted of Cash and Bullion, while the Merchandize for sale represented Assets of only 11,812 taels. More than five eighths of their stock, the English merchants had brought all the long way from London on a journey of two years and two months, the remainder (pepper, Chinese gold and Indian cotton goods) having been procured at Bantam and Patani. If we go into particulars about their merchandize, we find that rather more than one third of the whole was represented by 50 pieces and 6 remnants of English broad cloth, about one sixth by Elephants' teeth, and one twelfth by gunpowder, ordinance and ammunition. In order to get speedily rid of these wares, the Chief of the Factory at Hirado, RICHARD COCKS, was instructed to send three of his merchants with interpreters to Shizuka, Osaka and other places where there was a chance of selling their goods. One of the other two clerks was to be dispatched to Tsushima with a view of enquiring, while selling his goods "what commerce may be had with the people of Corea." The other was to buy and fit a junk and take in her some of the English and Indian stuffs and a part of the Elephants' teeth to Patani and Siam, and to exchange them there for Silks, Skins, Brazil wood and similar wares that might yield profit in Japan.

The Factory at Hirado was thus to establish five branches at places very distant from each other and to stock them all out of a godown containing goods bought (to be exact) at

11,812 Taels 6 Mace  $2\frac{4}{5}$  Candareens. How large were the profits to be, ere the expenses of all these establishments, the salaries of eight Englishmen (including ADAMS), and the freight to and from Bantam (40 days sailing) could be recovered?

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT HIRADO UNDER "THE LARGE PRIVILEGES." (1614—1617).

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#### I. THE ORGANIZATION OF ENGLISH TRADE IN JAPAN.

General SARIS and his assistants appeared in Japan not as representatives of the East India Company, but as merchants of England under the direct patronage of their sovereign. Neither in their petition for privileges nor in any other way did they throw out a suggestion, that they were in the employ of a Chartered Company, for which they claimed a monopoly so as to exclude any independent English trader that might perchance find his way to Japan. The Japanese government could not but believe that *all* English merchants coming to Japan were to be equally benefited by the privileges granted on the occasion of SARIS' arrival. But when the good success of the Japanese expedition was made known in England, quite naturally other considerations prevailed. In the published account of SARIS' journey the "privileges . . . demanded . . . in the name of the King's Majesty" were transformed into "Privileges granted in the name of the right honoured knight, Sir THOMAS SMITH, Governor of the East India Company." The "free license to all the subjects of the King of England" became in PURCHAS' print a "free license

to the King of England's subjects, Sir THOMAS SMITH, Governor, and Company of the East India Merchants." Strictly speaking the alleged "Translation of the Emperor of Japan's Privileges" of which RUNDALL gives a facsimile, is a forgery committed in the interests of the East India Company.

It was in harmony with the general Eastern practice in the case of foreign merchants, that some degree of extritoriality was granted to the English merchants in Japan. The Chief of the Factory at Hirado was the only judge of offences committed by Englishmen in Japan; he was also the custodian of the property left behind by absent Englishmen and executor of the wills of those of his countrymen who died in Japan. Thus even the will of WILLIAM ADAMS made in Japanese found its way into the archives of the factory and afterwards to the India Office in London. Very often had the Chief or (as he is called in Japanese documents) Captain of the English to deal with small offences of Jack ashore, when there were ships anchoring in the straits of Hirado. In two instances in 1621 even capital punishment was dealt out in the English house in Japan. It was this mixture of consular jurisdiction and mercantile management which gave to the so-called Cape-Merchant the highly elevated position which he held above his colleagues and above the masters of visiting ships.

The man who occupied this post as long as the English factory existed in Japan was RICHARD COCKS. He was one of the original share-holders in the East India Company to the amount of 200£ and seems to have been well-known in the City where he was established as a grocer. During a five years' residence at Bayonne (1603—1608) he had frequently corresponded with Sir THOMAS WILSON, secretary to the Lord

Treasurer SALISBURY. To both these dignitaries he also wrote lengthy letters from Japan which were thought interesting enough to be laid before the King, who "could not be induced to believe that the things written were true but desired to speak with the writer when he comes home" and on another occasion declared Cocks' description of the greatness of the Japanese Court "the loudest lies that he had ever heard." Cocks was indeed too ready to believe stories told him by his friends and to accept exaggerated figures as correct; but that he was an honest and truthloving man and a faithful recorder of his own observations is clear from many a passage of his valuable Diary.

The English factory at Hirado was not subordinate to the older one at Bantam; Cocks sent his official Reports directly to the East India House at Leadenhall Street and only friendly letters to the Factory at Bantam.

Regarding the distribution of his merchants Cocks followed SARIS' advice very closely. He founded two branch factories, one at Osaka under WILLIAM EATON, the other at Yedo under RICHARD WICKHAM. A third branch was only of short duration. EDMUND SAYERS had in accordance with SARIS' orders been sent with a fair Cargo of pepper and other commodities to Tsushima with instructions to try what commerce might be had with the people of Corea. But he returned very soon with nearly all his wares. Cocks reported this failure to the East India Company on November 25th, 1614: "We cannot per any means get trade as yet from Tushma (Tsushima) into Corea." Neither had the people of Tushma, though subject to the Emperor of Japan, any other privilege as to trading with Corea beyond permission to reside in a little

town or fortress to which they are confined. He adds some curious remarks on the means of transportation in Corea: "I am given to understand that up in the country of Corea they have great cities, and betwixt that and the Sea mighty bogs, so that no man can travel on horseback nor very hardly on foot. But for remedy against that they have invented great waggons or carts which go upon broad flat wheels under sail as ships do, so that observing monsoons they transport their goods to and from in those sailing waggons. They have Damasks, Satins, Taffeties and other silk stuffs made there as well as in China."† On his return SAYERS was persuaded by a merchant of Hakata to make him the Company's host there. But COCKS dissolved this connexion as soon as he heard of it.

Thus there remained at the end of 1614 only the two branches of Osaka and Yedo. Both of these branches as well as the chief factory at Hirado had their sub-ordinate agencies at other places where they left their wares and occasionally stayed themselves with their "host," as these subagents were called. On Hirado depended the agency of Nagasaki, where (after their first host Andrea, a Japanese Christian, had forfeited COCKS' confidence) the English *dépôt* was kept by independent foreign traders; at first by the Spaniard JOHN DE LIEVANA and the Italian DAMIAN MARINA, afterwards by the Portuguese GEORGE DUROIS and occasionally also by the

† Cal. of State Papers I., 804. Partly printed in COCKS' Diary II., 269 ff. COCKS reproduces also a fanciful story about HIDEYOSHI'S invasion of Corea: "It is said, that Taiko Sama, called Quabicondono (i.e. Kwanbaku), the deceased Emperor of Japan, did pretend to have conveyed a great army in those sailing wagons to have assailed the Emperor of China on a sudden in his great city of Paquin (Peking), where he is ordinarily resident; but he was prevented by a Corean nobleman who poisoned himself in order to poison the Emperor and other great men of Japan, which is the occasion that the Japans have lost all that which some 22 years past they had got possession of in Corea."

Dutchman MELCHIOR VAN SANTVOORD. The Osaka branch had two permanent agencies: one at Sakai in charge of the Japanese merchant TOZAYEMON, whom Cocks in his Diary calls the good friend of the English;\* the other sub-agency was in Kioto in charge of MAGAZAEMON. Occasionally there was a special agent appointed at Fushimi. Under the Yedo branch there were likewise two agencies, at Shizuoka under STIBIO QUEDOQUEA and at Uraga under Mrs. ADAMS' brother-in-law ANDREAS alias GENDOQUE;† once also WICKHAM sent some English and Indian cloth to Echigo on trial.

Even at Osaka and Yedo the English had no house of their own, but put up with some wealthy merchants who warehoused their goods and transacted business for them during their absence. For their host in Yedo, MIMOYA GEN† at Nihonbashi, they invented the nickname Macchiavelli, because he was "a crafty fellow," while their talkative landlord and representative at Osaka, CUEMON, was honoured with the more humorous appellation of Grub Street. With the former they broke off all connection as early as August 1616. The policy of the English factory was to deal with a few big merchants rather than with so many small shop-keepers as the Dutch did who organized an extensive wholesale business with Japanese retailers on a credit system.

\* That this agent was a substantial merchant, is clear from Cocks' entry in his Diary (I. 209): "This Tozaemon Dono has lent me 1,000 Taels gratis, besides all other favours done in our business, he having done more than all the rest."

† He as well as his wife Magdalena were probably Christians. His and ADAMS' father-in-laws was MAGOME KAGEYU of Yedo. That the Japanese names given above are greatly distorted in their English form, is clear; but it would be useless to make any attempt at their correction.

† It is not impossible, that this agent was identical with ADAMS' father-in-law MAGOME KAGEYU.

At each branch they kept also an interpreter (*Jurebasso*)<sup>‡</sup> who was often used as a person of trust on commercial errands. The usual medium of interpretation was the Portuguese language which, with many local admixtures (especially of Malayan origin) was in those days still the *lingua franca* of the Far East.§ All these interpreters had Christian names, and from the very low wages ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ —4 Taels per month) and the frequent changes of these men we may conclude, that at least in Kiushiu and Kioto there was a large number of Japanese well versed in the Portuguese language. For the more important business at IYĒYASU's and the Shogun's Court it was usual to employ Captain ADAMS or JOHN YOOSSEN, who had also arrived in Japan in 1600 and had access to the highest personages. As both were frequently absent from Japan, a third member of the crew of the unfortunate Dutch ship that first arrived in Bungo, was engaged as a substitute. This was GILBERT CUNING, a Dutchman who had married a Japanese woman and established himself at Uruga, but lost all his property through a fire in 1614. His recommendation was, that "he speaks the language of the country perfectly and has access to speak with the Emperor when requisite;" but he died very soon after his engagement, before COCKS started on his journey to Yedo. Thus left without a qualified interpreter for his business at Court, COCKS asked the *Jurebasso* of DATE MASAMUNE to serve him on that occasion with his knowledge of Spanish. ADAMS returned, however, just in time to perform his usual functions again in 1617.

‡ From the Malay word *Juru-bahasa*=language master.

§ Proficiency in Portuguese was required of all merchants in India and the Malay atchipelago. Often a Portuguese language master was sent out with the India-men for the benefit of the commercial passengers



To keep up a regular correspondence with all branches and agencies and make them write frequently to each other was in Cocks' opinion very important. For despatching these letters there were opportunities enough, because it was a well established custom for travellers to take letters from all their acquaintances and even from competitors to the places they had to pass. The more letters one brought and the more interesting news one could tell, the better was one entertained on the journey. If time was pressing, a special messenger was sent even over great distances as for instance from Hirado to Yedo, as we have seen after SARIŠ' arrival. Many of the still extant letters have very little of a business style about them and rather indiscreet remarks and far-fetched suspicions about the doings of third parties that could be of little practical value. Pious invocations and occasional moralising admonitions helped to enlarge the size of their business letters, and local news or wild rumours seem to have been most welcome to all correspondents. As personal affairs and business matters were not yet kept separate by the early representatives of the East India Company, the volumes of Original Correspondence preserved at the East India Office afford more interesting reading than the short impersonal business memoranda of later times.

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## II. COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE ENGLISH FACTORY BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE SECOND ENGLISH SHIP.

(December 5th, 1613—September 4th, 1615).

Raw Silk and Silk Stuffs, the most saleable staples in the Japanese market, were entirely missing in the storehouses of

the English Factory, if we except nine silk girdles brought from England at a cost price of one shilling six pence a piece. But under the peculiar circumstances of commercial intercourse in those days foreigners had a fair chance of getting a modest share in the profitable silk trade of this country.

In consequence of the cruel piracies committed by Japanese adventurers on the Chinese coasts for nearly a century, and in remembrance of Hideyoshi's Korean invasion, all commercial intercourse between China and Japan was prohibited under penalty of death. Only by means of a middleman could Chinese or Japanese traders interchange the most important produce of the Middle Kingdom against Japanese silver. They could buy from the Chinese firms at Bantam, Patani, Siam or Manilla and sell in Japan; recovering the expense of this enormous *detour* from their Japanese customers in a much enhanced selling price. The only drawback was the competition of the Portuguese of Macao, who were at liberty to buy silk on the Canton market and ship it directly to Nagasaki. As long as the route from Macao to Japan was not disturbed by Dutch pirates and Japanese prohibitions, the Portuguese were naturally the chief importers of Chinese silk.

It needed little commercial insight to appreciate the value of a direct access to the Chinese silk market as the soundest base of a lucrative trade in Japan. Already before "the *Clove*" had set sail from Bantam, ADAMS wrote to the English merchant AUGUSTIN SPALDING there: "Now my good friend: can the English merchants get the handling or trade with the Chinese, then shall our country make great profit, and the Worshipful India Company of London shall not have need to send money out of England, for in Japan is gold and

silver in abundance." But, as we have seen, the piratical acts of DRAKE, CAVENDISH and LANCASTER were so little forgotten by the Chinese, that they insisted on the misconception that the Dutch, who seized so many richly laden Chinese junks, must be bands of Englishmen. The Dutch had no interest to dispel this error; but their repeated petitions for getting leave of trade in China were sternly refused by the Mandarins. It was to be expected that an English embassy to China would fare as badly as the Dutch ones in 1604 and 1607. But Cocks flattered himself with the hope, that the good reputation of his nation with the Chinese merchants residing in Japan might help him over the difficulty of getting access to the ear of the Emperor at Peking. He entrusted the leading Chinamen at Hirado with the task of winning public opinion for the English and bribing the most important officials. Not less than 1,400£ sterling did he sacrifice to this purpose. "If it please God this take effect," he wrote to the Company in London, "I hope your wor. will let me have the credit of it."† It is much to be feared that Cocks was simply humbugged by the two Chinese brothers in whom he confided and that they put the money and presents intended for the Peking officials into their own wide sleeves.

The Dutch solved the problem of procuring silk cheaply in a peculiar way. They chased the Portuguese ship sailing annually from Macao to Nagasaki and robbed many Chinese junks sailing to Manilla and Patani. With the stolen silk they could easily undersell the Chinese and Japanese importers. To the credit of the English merchants in Japan it must

† India Office. Original Correspondence II., 189. (November 25th 1614).

be stated, that only one of them once recommended this way of procedure to their masters and friends. They honestly tried the only alternative left to fair-minded merchants i.e. to buy silk and other saleable merchandize at the open markets in South-eastern Asia. SARIS had advised them to send a junk to Siam and Patani. They changed the destination for Cochinchina, when four or five junks sailing on account of Japanese merchants offered them freight and passage from Nagasaki to Cochinchina and back at reasonable rates. A special inducement for this alteration was the report, that JOHN YOOSSEN, the Dutchman, had two or three years previously on a voyage to Siam been "constrained by bad weather to put into Cochinchina to Quinham where he was well received of the king and made a far better voyage than he should have done at Siam." The two Merchants originally designed for Siam and Patani, TEMPEST PEACOCK and WALTER CARWARDEN, set sail on March 18th, 1614 in a large Japanese junk called "the Roquan." They took with them a Cargo representing at original purchasing prices 2,983 Taels 8 Mas or about 740£ sterl., more than one tenth of the whole capital left in Japan at SARIS' departure. From the Invoice we learn, that (strange to say) their most valuable merchandize taken do Cochinchina were Elephants' teeth bought at 260£ sterl.; then followed Spanish Royals coined for the East India Company at the Royal Mint in London to an amount equivalent to 200£. Eight pieces of English broad cloth represented only 28£, the remainder consisting chiefly of various Iadian stuffs. With favourable winds the two Englishmen arrived safely at their destination, delivered complimentary presents and a Royal letter to the King of Cochinchina

and "were kindly entertained with large promises." But neither of them nor any return for their merchandize ever came back to Hirado. That both were murdered and their goods stolen admits of no doubt. But how the tragedy happened, remained for ever a mystery to their friends in Japan despite all efforts to find out the truth. The first report, that reached the factory already four months after their departure, was bad enough and proves the danger of mercantile enterprises in those times. It explained, however, only how PEACOCK had lost his life together with a party of Dutchmen. For the Dutch Factory at Hirado had also freighted one of the four Nagasaki junks in order to compete with the English at their first arrival in Cochinchina. Although COCKS had instructed PEACOCK to keep aloof from his rivals, he once availed himself of the Dutch river boat to return from the King's palace to his own lodgings. But another bigger boat filled with armed men overturned it; all its inmates, PEACOCK and the Dutch and "their Jurebasos and their followers were slain with harping irons like unto fishes." This cruel action was the deed of some Cochinchinese noblemen in revenge for the destruction of a town in Cochinchina by the Dutch a few years previously, after some of their merchants had been assaulted and one murdered by the inhabitants. The violent behaviour of the natives had been provoked "by means of a great quantity [of] false Dollers§ or Rialls of eight which the Hollanders [carried] in times past and bartered them away for silk and other commodities."† The officials in Cochin-

§ This is probably one of the earliest occurrences of "Dollar" as equivalent to the Spanish Ryal of eight.

† The Dutch afterwards got Ryals secretly coined at Nagasaki and were, as COCKS suspected, not so particular about their intrinsic value as the Royal Mint in London.

china and also an Indian half-caste who claimed to have been an eyewitness corrected this report afterwards in the sense, that PEACOCK was not among the slain but that he was drowned in his attempt to swim ashore, because 50 or 60 Ryals, which he carried in his pocket, dragged him down. The body was, according to the Indian's report, recovered and decently buried by CARWARDEN. But how is it, that CARWARDEN was never heard of after this affair? The explanation seems to be, that, as we learn from the report of a Japanese eyewitness,† a band of five rascals used the opportunity for robbing the English and Dutch stores and killing the isolated Europeans who guarded them. One of these five men was the Japanese MANGOSA, PEACOCK's host; of the others one was a Japanese, one a Chinaman and two were natives of Cochin-china. Thus ended the first adventure of the Factory at Hirado with the loss of two valuable lives and the reduction of its capital by 10 per cent.

Japan did not prove a good market for English and Indian stuffs, because the Dutch lowered their prices immediately after the arrival of their new competitors. In the beginning Cocks thought it proper to charge about four times the original cost price; he wrote to WICKHAM (January 1614) that he had not yet sold English cloth, which according to the still preserved invoice had been bought at 2 Taels 2 Mas 2 Candareens, "under eight Taels and cloth of Cambaia under four for one profit." But three months later he wishes him to sell away what he can "although something under cento per cento" i. e. at only double the original cost prices.

† It was TOZAYEMON, the English host at Osaka. Cocks' Diary I., 140.

For their English cloth they depended almost exclusively on the custom of wealthy noblemen who bought a few *tatami*† or a whole piece for their wearing apparel or oftener for covering their saddles, armour cases and scabbards. Black, yellow, clove-colour, mouse-colour, cinnamon and violet were the favorite colours; “but the class who buy broad-cloths will not look on a Flame-colour or Venice.” Of the long list of Indian cotton stuffs a few sold very well, some only at “poor prices” and the blue Byrams, Dutties and red Zelas with which the English Factory was most plentifully provided, not at all. Cocks explains the difficulty of selling their cotton wares by pointing to “the abundance of Linen cloth made in these parts and far better and cheaper than in any part of Christendom.††” WICKHAM who of all the English merchants in Japan had the best business head on his shoulders, traces the different saleability back to the colours of the pattern. The Japanese liked black or blue grounds with white spots or stripes; “if any *red* was introduced, it would not sell.” If one looks at the dresses of grown up people in the country, one may still recognize the truth of this remark about Japanese taste. WICKHAM also recommended finer cotton stuffs of a good Black, “the Japanese not being able to dye that colour well.” He adds: “Wherefore any Colour that dieth a pitch Black for silk or otherwise would be well sold here and is much desired. We have some Galls of the Company here,

† A *tatami* was a little over two yards. The English used in their correspondence also the English equivalents “Mat” and “Fathom.” This measure has entirely gone out of use.

†† Cocks evidently means hemp (Jap. *asa*), of which still very fine and durable materials are woven in Echigo. In appreciating his judgment one must not forget, that the Irish linen industry was at that time not yet started.

but none of us can give them knowledge, how to use them; otherwise the Emperor himself would have bought them with a great quantity [of stuffs], could we have taught them the use of them.‡” In consequence of this ignorance WICKHAM had also to give up his idea of dying his unsaleable dutties black. Pepper that had been bought at Bantam for 2 Taels. 3 Mare a picul, fetched 6 Taels 5 Mase in Osaka; but EATON considered that “a poor price.” How uncertain the ratio of profit was, is clear from the fact, that EATON sold some of the Indian cloths at double, and others at over five times the cost prices. Yedo and Shizuoka proved better markets for the English than even Osaka and Kioto. By far the best customer was IYEYASU, to whom ADAMS and WICKHAM sold broad-cloth and lead at prices 25 % higher than those ruling at Osaka. For quicksilver he was the only buyer as he wanted it for his silver mines. He also purchased from ADAMS (in June 1614) 5 pieces of English Ordnance viz. four long cannons called Culverines, weighing 4000 pounds each and discharging bullets of 13 pounds, and one Saker weighing 3200 pounds throwing bullets of 23 pounds, as well as all the gunpowder brought to Shizuoka.° Of all the sales of the year 1614 nearly one half was done by the Yedo branch, over one fourth at Osaka, rather more than one sixth in the Hirado factory, the remainder at Tsushima and Nagasaki. But the whole amounted only to 9023 Taels 4 Mace 3 Candereens, a very poor result indeed.

‡ Letter to Captain Jourdain at Bantam, dated Suruga October, 13, 1615. From a copy in the India Office.

° Another saker brought from England and 15 of the 46 barrels of gunpowder had already been sold to MATSUURA HOIN in December, 1613.



The political situation of 1614 is also reflected in the correspondence of the English merchants. In May and June of that year all the Daimyos gathered at Yedo on the occasion of the rebuilding of the Castle. It would have been a fine opportunity for selling their broadcloths; but unfortunately the barque in which it was sent, had to seek shelter at Toba harbour and arrived in Yedo only on May 16th; much valuable time being thus lost to the energetic but excitable salesman in Yedo. How heavy the burden of this help in building the Castle was, may be seen from the transactions the Daimyo of Hirado had to resort to. As the Dutch could not help him with advancing money, he bought 30 pieces of broadcloth from them on credit and took them with him to Sakai. There he sold half of them for 2700 Taels cash; the other half he gave as security for a loan. In Shizuoka ADAMS advanced him 1000 Taels of the Company's money in conformity with COCKS' promise, while in Yedo WICKHAM was asked for another 1000 Taels. As this draft on Yedo or Kioto was given by COCKS at Hirado on December 24th, 1613, it is clear, that MATSUURA HIZEN NO KAMI must have received his summons to Yedo already in December 1613. And this attendance in Yedo, for which the Daimyo had to borrow 1400£. sterl., was not the only service demanded of him. At the very time when he was selling broadcloth and borrowing money to Sakai, many of his "soldiers" were sent from Hirado to Arima, as COCKS informs us without knowing for what intent. It was probably ordered in connexion with the removal of the Arima clan to Hiuga, which took place at this time.

But of far greater importance is the light which the

commercial Correspondence preserved in the India Office incidentally throws on the intentions of HIDEYORI and his advisers in Osaka Castle. If one uses Japanese material only, one cannot help suspecting that all preparations for war were quietly going on in Osaka already in April 1614 and that IYEFASU's anger about the inscription of the famous bell in Kioto was simply a device to bring matter to an immediate issue. For we still have a letter written by ODA URAKU and OMOSHIRI SHI to the MAYEDA of Kaga, reminding him of the fact that HIDEYORI had come of age, telling him of the large stock of rice heaping up in the Castle and asking him to come to Osaka and contribute 1000 Kobans in gold for buying ammunitions of war. The Daimyo of Kaga did not comply with this demand but sent the letter to IYEFASU<sup>o</sup>. It is, however, very questionable, whether this letter was sent with the knowledge of HIDEYORI; I think it must be considered as one of the mistaken services which over-active partisans in critical situations indiscreetly and secretly render to the cause on which they have set their heart. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of HIDEYORI, when on the 1st of September he offered to take down the objectionable bell in Kioto and sent KATAKIRI KATSUMOTO to Osaka to apologize for the offense unintentionally given; or when he sent for the same purpose three noble ladies three weeks afterwards. Only when these ladies returned from Shizuoka, did HIDEYORI perceive, that war was unavoidable. The proof of this view I gather from some letters of EATON to his chief at Hirado. In the beginning of June 1614 there was no possibility of selling the English gunpowder stored at Osaka, although COCKS had

<sup>o</sup> Butoku Hennenshinzei vol. 64. (19 Keicho 3<sup>d</sup> month).

given instructions to sell it cheaply. The whole of it was sent back to Hirado, where it was not saleable. After the return of the second embassy the situation at Osaka became suddenly changed. EATON wrote on October 27th: "There is great inquiry now for gunpowder which would sell at a good price. I wish I had all you have at Hirado here." While the price of English gunpowder at Osaka was only 10 Taels per picul in March 1614, not less than 16 Tae's were paid for inferior Japanese gunpowder by the end of October, and when EATON found it advisable to make HIDEYORI a present of 50 catties of Japanese gunpowder, in the middle of December, he had to buy it at the rate of 35 Taels. I think it is clear; if war had been thought of as soon impending in the spring of 1614, the English gunpowder would have been as readily bought by HIDEYORI as by his great adversary.

At Hirado COCKS and his clerk NEALSON had spent much time and money in procuring decent premises for the Factory. They bought the leasehold of their Chinese landlord for 100 Taels on February 9th 1614 and commenced at once building on it, setting about 100 men working under the supervision of the Daimyo's carpenter at an expense of only 1159 Taels 4 Mace 1 Candereen until the end of 1614. In order to secure their dwelling house and godown against the danger of catching fire, they bought also the houses of both their Japanese neighbours and pulled them down, so that they had a goodsized garden all around their buildings†. Altogether they spent '560

† COCKS, who was very fond of gardening, was not satisfied with the "orchard" around the house. He rented another garden at one Tael per annum, where he planted potatoes brought from Riukiu, "a thing not yet planted in Japan." (Diary, June 19th 1615.) These Riukiu potatoes were a present from ADAMS.

£ sterl. on their Hirado house, while the Dutch Lodge had cost about 2000 £; still, if we consider that the English sales at Hirado amounted only to 350 £ a year, the investment was not a lucky one. The worst was, that thereby it became all the more difficult to remove their chief factory to Yedo, where they could have claimed a suitable lot without payment and where their best customers were easily approachable, besides the advantages, that the charges for travelling to court would have been saved and the powerful competition of the Dutch less felt. But after SARIS had once rejected ADAMS' advice, COCKS was not resolute enough to effect such a radical change.

Not even a junk for distant voyages was to be had or could be fitted out in Hirado harbour. When COCKS decided to send a large Japanese junk to Siam, ADAMS had to go to Nagasaki to choose one and brought her to the straits of Kochi for overhauling and trimming her. § She was very fittingly dubbed "The Sea Adventure" and ADAMS was to be her captain. COCKS wanted one of his more experienced coadjutors, EATON or WICKHAM to go as merchant on the junk. But both were on such bad terms with ADAMS, that he demanded, that EDMUND SAYRES should rather be sent. We can well understand ADAMS' objections, as we find in the correspondence of both merchants most unreasonable suspicions about ADAMS. WICKHAM accused him of having suggested the transportation of broad cloth from Hirado to Yedo by the searoute, because he wished to retard the arrival by the chance of storms in order to give to the Dutch for a few days a monopoly. At a time, when ADAMS acted most successfully as

§ It was a junk of 200 tons. The cost price was 200 Taels, the expense of trimming etc. 312 Taels 9 Mace 6 Candereens.

salesman of the English at Shizuoka and Yedo, EATON thought it smart to write to WICKHAM: "neither would I wish you to let " Captain ADAMS know at what prices I have sold Broad cloth at; for when he once knows thereof, the Dutch shall have presently intelligence. I have written him a letter, but not one word of the sale of any broadcloth. §§" But COCKS who knew how eager WITHAM was to go to Siam, got over the difficulty by telling him earnestly that he would have to change his behaviour towards ADAMS. Trusting on the letter's good nature and "tractable" disposition he summoned WICKHAM at once to Hirado. The merchant and mariner did, indeed, after a few days of stay at Kochi give up their old animosity and sealed their new friendship by taking a morning drink together. Thus it was decided that WICKHAM was to be the chief merchant on board the *Sea Adventure*, EDMUND SAYRES accompanying him as assistant.

WICKHAM's instructions tell us, that the things wanted from Siam were Brazil wood, deer skins, raw silk, China stuffs, 'a kind of fish skin to make scabbards and handles for Cattans, which is a very good commodity," and buffalo horns which would fetch 20 Taels per hundred horns. To buy these wares, 5000 Ryals (1250 £ sterl.) of the silver brought from England and only 700 Taels of merchandize were handed to him. The Indian stuffs not saleable in Japan made one half of the Cargo; the other half consisted of Japanese products, mostly weapons and arms. We reproduce from the still preserved invoice the part relating to Japanese wares:

§§ Osaka. March 22nd 1614. The meaning of this letter is converted into the very opposite in the abridgement by Sainsbury. (Cal. of Hate Papers I. 703.)

Pieces.	Merchandise.	Price per piece.	Amount.		
			Taels.	Mace	band.
15	Armours of Japan	45 Mace	67	5	—
5	" "	27 "	13	5	—
36	Cattans [swords] of several sorts		60	9	—
18	Wakadashes [short swords] of Japan	5 "	9	—	—
28	Wakadashes [short swords] of Japan	2 "	5	6	—
10	Calivers or guns of Japan	40 "	40	—	—
15	" " "	25 "	37	5	—
10	" " "	30 "	30	—	—
18	Pikes of Japan	5 "	9	—	—
5	" " "	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	1	2	5
3	Langanatts [ <i>Naginata</i> ] weapon of Japan	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	4	3	5
2	Langanatts [ <i>Naginata</i> ] weapon of Japan	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	2	7	—
5	Small bows of Japan	2 "	1	—	—
80	Arrows headed		1	2	—
2	Chodays [ <i>Kyodai</i> ] or boxes for women	17 "	3	4	—
50	fine fans of Japan, perfumed		2	5	—
300	coarse fans painted		1	5	—
1	varnished Chest for a woman		—	3	—
5	boxes of looking glasses		1	2	—
300	blades for knives		4	5	—
300	haftes for knives		—	2	7
5	Quitas Solls (or Soubreiros)	2 "	1	—	—
2000	Dried Bonitoes (or Tunnyfish)		16	—	—
2	Japan Beams to weigh goods withall		3	3	—
9	Moulders for small shot	} no price given			
2	melting ladles				
Total			317	4	7

It would be quite wrong to suppose, that Cocks sent so small a quantity of Japanese manufactures on the large junk, because he had no knowledge of the Siamese market. The truth is, that there was a regular trade connection between the two countries and that Cocks could rely on the information

given by the agent of the Company in Siam, LUCAS ANTHEUNISS, and by the Dutchman JOHN YOOSSEN, who had just returned thence and sent with "the Tea Adventure" a large amount of silver for wares bought on credit in Siam. The balance of trade between the nations of Eastern Asia was at that time so unfavourable for Japan, that a constant efflux of silver could not be prevented.

When ADAMS with his "strong junk" left Kochi straits on the 17th of December, 1614, he had besides his crew of 58 Japanese sailors a pretty numerous company on board. Besides WICKHAM and SAYERS there was in the employ of the Company DAMIAN MARIN their Nagasaki agent, besides a large number of Japanese and Chinese merchants who took passage with the popular Captain. But this first journey of the Sea Adventure was very unfortunate. During a heavy gale which she encountered almost immediately after leaving Kōchi straits, a leak was discovered that could not be stopped, so that continual pumping was necessary. After two days sailing ADAMS determined to steer westward to seek shelter at the coast of China which he calculated to be only 30 leagues distant. But the Chinese and Japanese merchants on board implored him not to deliver them to a certain death at the hands of Chinese officials and rather to risk an eastern course towards the more distant Riukiu islands, which the English men eventually agreed to. After two more days of hard work, they sighted the island of "Fuega alias Yanka" with two other small islands, and within half an hour afterwards anchored to the northwest of the island of Oshima. On the advice of the Japanese official they proceeded to Naffa, where the King resided. WICKHAM found the islanders very similar

to the Chinese,§ “wearing their hair long bound up like the Chinese with a bodkin thrust through;‡ but it is made up on the right side of their heads.” They were (according to his letters to SIR THOMAS SMITH and COCKS) “a peaceable and quiet people, but of late years conquered by SHIMASU Dono, King of Satsuma, so that now they are governed by the Japanese laws and customs, by which means they have lost their trade and privileges in China.” While the junk was being repaired, they stayed about a month at Naffa and sold there a large part of their Indian stuffs at 150% above the cost price. WICKHAM was quite enthusiastic about the large amount of fine Ambergris to be had there and bought two catties of it for the Company at 64 Taels per Catty; for this peculiar product of the sperm whale in the Pacific was then highly esteemed for medical purposes. Of other things exportable and saleable in Japan, cow-hides are specially mentioned; wheat and other grain were also abundant and cheap ‡‡ After leaving Naffa the Japanese crew became unruly demanding to set the course for Cochinchina. As WICKHAM remembering PEACOCK’S sad fate would not agree to that, they became mutinous, so that ADAMS turned the junk’s head back to Japan, arriving at the Goto islands by the end of May, 1615. The second expedition to the South of the Hirado factory was also a failure.

§ In his letter to SIR THOMAS SMITH, dated Yedo 23rd October, 1615, he writes even: “The inhabitants of these (Riukiu) islands are *decended* from the race of Chinese.”

‡ One must remember, that the Chinese were at that time not yet pig-tailed.

‡‡ ADAMS found there ordinary potatoes, of which he brought a bag-full as a present for COCKS, as mentioned above.



### III. THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT HIRADO IN REGULAR CONNEXION WITH BANTAM. (1615-1617).

The second English ship dropped anchor in the harbour of Hirado on September 4th, 1615, more than two years after the arrival of SARIS' pioneer vessel. This long interval was due to a mistaken notion of the monsoon in Eastern Asia, whereby the "Hoezander" (for that was the name of the ship) departed from Bantam too late in the year 1614 to get any farther than Patani. The same mistake was made in the following year, postponing the arrival of "the Advice" until July, 1616.

But the sale of the English commodities and the Indian stuffs was so slow, that the stores of the Company in Japan were never empty. Besides, some little business was done with merchandize bought from the independent foreign and Chinese merchants in Japan and from the Dutch mariners who sold their share of the prizes made by their ships. We cannot, however, be surprised, that the businessmen in Japan had little respect for such a small concern. COCKS resented very keenly the fact that ADAMS, even before his engagement with the Company had expired, sought his custom much more with the Dutch, Japanese and Chinese, than with his own nation. When asked to interfere in a serious quarrel between an interpreter of the Factory and the family of the public executioner at Hirado, ADAMS, who was not well at the time, sent even a harsh refusal to his chief. WICKHAM who had done some private trade in ambergris bought in the Riukiu islands, thought of leaving the service of the Factory for which he had so little to do. There seems to have been little correspondence

between the different branches of the Company in the first eight months of 1615; not a single letter of this period is preserved to us.

The Cape merchant and Commander of the "Hozeander," RALPH COPPINDALE, brought also presents for Iyeyasu and the Shogun. As it was known in Hirado, that Iyeyasu was staying for some time at Kioto, it was decided by a Council of all the merchants, that WICKHAM and EATON who were at Hirado should accompany COPPINDALE to Kioto taking with them the wares for their branches at Osaka and Yedo. The presents for the Shogun were to be taken to Yedo by WICKHAM alone. The purser and two other officers of the "Hozeander" formed COPPINDALE's suite. ADAMS who was repairing the "Sea Adventure" at Kochi had already a few days previously been summoned to Iyeyasu and hurried on in advance of his countrymen in his own boat. Again the Daimyo of Hirado lent them his fast barque with 16 oars on each side and a handsome cabin. Two junks carried the goods for sale as far as Osaka.

When COPPINDALE and his party after a voyage of 11 days arrived at Osaka (Sept. 22, 1615), the town was partly still in ruins; but they greatly admired the ornamental carvings of the not consumed bridges. The remains of the conquered castle had all been carried away to clear the ground for a new structure. They continued their journey immediately to Kioto. But IYEXASU had already left for Shizuoka. COPPINDALE had therefore to extend his journey for another 11 days, while EATON attended at once to his business at Osaka. The travellers on the Tokaido had great trouble on account of the scarcity of horses in consequence of the late war; the prices of provisions had also

doubled in comparison with former times. Rice was sold at 2 Taels 6 Mace, barley at 1 Tael 6 Mace (per Koku); "hens were scarce and 3 Mace (1sh. 9d.) each, and Hogs and Beef were not to be had on any terms."<sup>o</sup>

On the 10th October COPPINDALE was admitted into the presence of IYEFASU, but neither allowed to speak nor spoken to. It was (to borrow a photographic phrase) an instantaneous audience; the English who had delivered their presents being rewarded with "a look" and a gracious smile of approbation only. But they received at their house the demanded letters to the Daimyo of Satsuma for liberty to trade in the Riukiu Islands and IYEFASU's present consisting of five robes, 10 Pike-heads, 100 Arrow-heads and three *wakadashi*. Already on the 14th COPPINDALE started on his return journey and WICKHAM for Yedo.

The reason why IYEFASU demanded ADAMS' presence at his court, was not stated in the summons. COCKS suspected, "it was a plot laid before by Capt. ADAMS himself and the Dutch, that he may go up to serve their turns," though in the employ of the English Factory. His services were, however, required in consequence of an embassy of the Viceroy of New Spain having arrived at Uruga.\* As it consisted of Friars, IYEFASU, who had the year before issued some edicts against the Patres, could not receive them. He therefore sent ADAMS to explain the situation† and cause them to return without offering their

<sup>o</sup> From an entry in "Books returned from India" in the India Office.

\* Their ship was probably identical with the one offered by ADAMS to SARIS in the harbour of Uruga 1613. At least we are informed that it had been built in Japan by Spaniards and Japanese workmen and left Japan in 1614.

† In consequence of the expulsion of the missionaries from Japan the Viceroy of New Spain had caused an Edict to be proclaimed "with

complimentary presents. After ADAMS had accomplished this, he received a letter from COCKS to lay on behalf of the factory a complaint before IYEFASU. The Capitão mor of the Portuguese ship at Nagasaki kept the two agents of the English, DAMIAN MARIN and JUAN DE LIEVANA, prisoners on board, because they were subjects of his King and had no leave to accept employment from the English Factory. In vain had COCKS protested against this outrage and asked for the interference of the governor of Nagasaki HASEGAWA GENROKU. He got only the answer, that the men did not appertain to him nor to the English nation. At last COCKS wrote the particulars of the case to ADAMS, who succeeded in getting a letter of instruction from the Secretary HONDA KŌZUKE NO SUKE to the senior governor of Nagasaki. When ADAMS returned and brought this writ to its address, the captives were at once liberated and brought to the English house at Hirado.

Another purpose, for which ADAMS used his influence with IYEFASU, is, from a humane standpoint, not praiseworthy. The Dutch had seized on the Japanese coast a Portuguese junk "laden with ebony wood, the greatest part, with tin and certain bars of gold and conserves."§ The question was, whether IYEFASU would allow the Dutch to make good prize of the ship, its crew and cargo within Japanese waters. He asked ADAMS who pleaded for the Dutch, how it came to pass that

sound of eight drums, at Acapulco and other parts, that, upon pain of death, there should never any more Japanese come nor trade into New Spain." In requittal here of IYEFASU forbade any of his subjects to go New Spain. (Two letters of COCKS, of which Cal. of State Papers I. 1066 and 1067 give abstracts. The former is partly printed in COCKS II. 273.)

§ Tin was always much in request in Japan for casting guns and other articles of bronze. The only place in the Far East, where it was produced, were the Banka islands, east of Sumatra. The Gold was a regular article of importation from China.

Spaniards and Dutch were so deadly enemies here, although their princes and governors were friends in all other parts of the world. ADAMS explained it on the ground of the pretence of the King of Spain to have, in consequence of his possessions in India and the Philippines, a better right in the Far East than other Christian Kings and "to keep all other nations from trading in these parts." IYEFASU said, that he would not meddle in the matter, as they were all strangers, but asked: "What is the occasion they take men as well as goods?" "Because (said Mr. ADAMS) the Spaniards take the Hollanders and have 150 or 200 of them prisoners in the Philippines, ‡ for which occasion the Hollanders do use the like towards their people, man for man and goods for goods." The Dutch carried their point completely; they sold the seized goods and kept the Portuguese captain prisoner at their house in Hirado.

When IYEFASU heard that ADAMS was going to "pilot" the junk "Sea Adventure" to Siam, he proposed to give up his roaming life and rather stay in Japan, where he might get a larger fief than that at Hemimura, if that was not sufficient. But ADAMS said, that he was by his word bound to serve the English Company, and even, when COCKS offered to release him, would not accept it; the desire to return to England kept him in the employ of the Company, although he was not satisfied with his remuneration of 100£ a year. Although his two years' contract ended in November 1615, he was willing to make the journey to Siam and leave it to the Company, at what rate he should be paid for his services. With this knowledge of ADAMS' large-minded behaviour derived from COCKS"

‡ The Dutch fleet under Admiral WITTEBT had been defeated of Manila by FERNANDO DE SILVA on August 25th, 1610, when two ships, 50 guns and 110 unwounded prisoners fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

letter to the Company of February 1616, one cannot help smiling at the entry of the over-shrewd Chief in his Diary on September 1st, 1615, when he heard of ADAMS' going to court: "or else it may be that he seeks occasion to get the Emperor to command him to stay and not to proceed forward on the Siam voyage, his time of service to the Company being out within two months. Once the end will show what is the occasion."

Ten days after ADAMS' arrival at Hirado, the "Sea Adventure" set sail for Siam. (December 7th, 1615.) This time SAYERS went in her as Merchant. We have no information about its cargo except that it was estimated at 200 or 300 £; perhaps it was similar to that of the previous year, when she failed to reach her destination. Of ready money she carried less than half the previous amount, only 2,400 Ryals in silver, of which only 40£ in Tsushima currency, the other 560£ in Ryals coined in London. By the costly repairs of the "Sea Adventure" and the "Hozeander" together with the losses in Cochinchina and the running expenses the capital of the Factory was so greatly reduced, that COCKS had very soon to write to the branches to provide him by any means with the where-withall, as he was "altogether moneyless."§ For the cargo of "the Hozeander" consisted also (as far as we know) of wares not easily saleable; i. e. guns or fowling pieces, steel, lead, quicksilver, wax, pepper and more or less sea damaged Indian stuffs.

It must have been a great relief to COCKS, when the "Hozeander" at last put to sea at midnight of February 26th,

1616; for the drunken rows of the officers and men of that ship had given him immense trouble, and he often complained in his Diary that he had never seen a crew so ill behaved. The reports about the prospects of trade in Japan, dispatched by the "Sea Adventure" and the "Hozeander," could not be very satisfactory. Even COCKS had to admit, that so far he could not "write of any great good to be done in this Japan trade." But he still hoped to get through his Chinese friends at Hirado most valuable privileges in China. He was glad to have been informed, that the accounts of the journeys of the Company's ships would not anymore be made up separately, and that all investments would now go into the "joint stock." The Cape merchant of the "Hozeander" wrote in a more matter-of-fact style about the best means of compensating the Company for the great charge of continuing this Factory, and pointed to Japan as a commodious store-house to furnish the Company with men, munitions and victuals at much cheaper rates than elsewhere in the case of setting foot in the Moluccas alone or in partnership with the Dutch. In this connection it was interesting for the English, that the Dutch had a great deal of bronze and iron cannons cast at Hirado (about 20 pieces in six months); but in COCKS' opinion "these Japanese are not very expert in that faculty, especially in great pieces."\*

For about four months after the departure of the

\* When a year afterwards HONDA KOZUKE NO SUKE gave an order for 6 English Brass Falcons of large calibre, COCKS informed him, that the Factory might have its ordinance cast in Japan. But HONDA answered, that he would rather have one of those cast in England than ten of such as were ever cast in Japan. The cannons brought by the Clove and sold to IYEXASU had evidently given satisfaction at the siege of Osaka.

"Hozeander" the English merchants in Japan might have enjoyed a pleasant holiday, having (as COCKS wrote on February 26th) little or no goods to sell. There were five of them; for young JOHN OSTERWICK had been left behind from the "Hozeander" to make himself useful as clerk of the Hirado factory. The Branch at Yedo was left entirely to the Japanese "host," EATON and WICKHAM taking it in turn to attend to the business at Osaka and Kioto. Including NEALSON there were now always four merchants in the English house at Hirado, where they indulged in the luxury of an English cook. They could have made a nice party, if petty personal quarrels, in which their Japanese "women-girls" were often entangled, had not occasionally led to estrangements between the three seniors. With their Japanese acquaintances and friends they kept on the same pleasant relations based (*more Japonico*) on a frequent exchange of presents and entertainments. One peculiar custom was to invite oneself to the *furoba* or bath of a friend in the afternoon. Sometimes they were honoured by their Japanese friends naming a child after an English merchant e. g. Richard Cocks Maki or the two sons of their host at Osaka called Richard Cocks and Wickham respectively. The only rather serious imbroglio was caused by EATON when on a little business trip to Ikanoura near Omura in Hizen.

When he went to that little village to buy some timber for repairing the Company's godown at Hirado, he found there a couple of people from Higo who also purchased boards and lats. One of these competitors got angry about the high prices paid by EATON which spoiled the timber business, and knocked him down with a staff. But EATON retaliated so heavily, that his assailant died of the wounds a few days afterwards.



Thereupon the villagers kept him prisoner and brought the matter before the authorities at Omura. COCKS on hearing of the affray, moved all his influential friends at Hirado to notify the Daimyo of Omura that according to the English privileges nobody but COCKS had jurisdiction over EATON. He also sent NEALSON to help the prisoner with counsel and provisions; but the villagers did not allow him to see his friend. In the meantime they had killed EATON's servant, because he had caused the ill-feeling between the fighting parties. The affair took a brighter turn, when the Daimyo of Higo wrote to Omura, that he did not mind the killing of one of his subjects. EATON was now liberated after an incarceration of about a fortnight, and the law suit pending against him was dropped. EATON returned to Hirado on June 5th, 1616.

The newly repaired and enlarged Godown of the Factory was at once filled to its utmost capacity; for not less than three ships of the Company arrived at Hirado within a month and a day, (June 21st to July 22, 1616). Two of these ships came from Bantam, but on different routes: the "Thomas" through the Molucca Straits, "the Advice" by way of Patani. In freighting them the English Factory at Bantam complied as well with the directions of the Court of Directors in London (which in their turn were based on SARIS' advice) as with the wishes of the English merchants in Japan. Thus we find in the Invoice of Goods brought by the "Advice" besides English broadcloth and steel and Indian stuffs on the one hand a long list of trifles, such as 18 looking glasses, 12 Dozen Glass bottles, 23 Dozen Knives and (most remarkable of all) 23 Dozen spectacles at cost prices of from 6 pence halfpenny to a shilling a piece; on the other hand some Chinese Raw Silk and Silk

stuffs. The leading men in London expected from the Japanese market a great deal indeed : not only that the Returns of Silver from Japan might enable the Company "to drive a great trade in the East with a small stock;" but that eventually they should thus come to import Gold and Silver into England; the Export of which to India "is very distasteful both to our State and People and opens many men's mouths against our Trade." The President of the Bantam Factory supplemented these directions for the Cape Merchant of "the Advice" ROBERT YEOWARTE† by recommending Japanese copper as an article of export to Bantam. He also wished to make an experiment with the blue cakes resembling Indigo recommended by SARIS and the Red Dye which, however, was found to be very expensive as the dried plants from which it was made grew only at Kamakura.‡ Three or four Dozen of the best Japanese swords were wanted to serve as presents in India.

The Silk as well as the Steel brought by the "Thomas" and "Advise" sold for about double their cost price, which was considered satisfactory for the silk but "a mean price" for the steel as it came all the way from England. The sale of the other articles was only slowly proceeding at the various agencies. A present for the Daimyo Hirado was also sent out in compliance with SARIS' suggestions, viz, Falconry necessities consisting of Bags, Hoods, Lures, Bells, Gloves and Gesses

† He died on the journey to Japan, EDWARD WILMOT succeeding him.

‡ COOKS sent a sample to England of this "dried Red Flower with yielded a Carnation colour and was more prized than any other dye in Japan; but this flower grew only in one place called Camacora and was too dear to yield any profit in England." It was probably *Beni*.

bought in London at altogether 4£ 10sh. For IYEFASU and the SHOGUN nothing was sent, not even a complimentary letter.

Far more profitable for the Company was the result of the expedition to Siam. When ADAMS arrived in the "Sea Adventure," he brought 2350 piculs of Siam Wood and 3700 Deer skins, for which far more than double the cost price was realized. And the small capital sent out with SAYERS made it possible for him to buy much more than the Sea Adventure could carry. He freighted a Chinese junk with 850 piculs of Wood going himself as passenger in it. After a stormy passage he arrived at the coast of Satsuma on September 17th. Moreover, he had chartered a Japanese junk that was repairing in Siam. This junk brought in the following year (for it had last the monsoon of 1616) 4560 Deer skins and the remainder of the money sent out amounting to 328 Taels. It was by far the most successful mercantile venture of the English Factory and enabled COCKS to spend 18682 Taels on trimming, provisioning and freighting the two English ships returning to Bantan, without pecuniary inconvenience for the business in Japan.

But was this insignificant result worth the trouble and expense of keeping a Factory in Japan? Without improvements in the organisation so as to cut down expenses and without opening new opportunities certainly not. EATON § recommended that an English ship of 500 or 600 tons should make regular voyages from Patani to Japan; the European crew being in the end cheaper, because Japanese mariners were "by the custom of the country entitled to carry so many

§ In his letter to SIR THOMAS SMYTHE of December 18th, 1616, Cal. of State Papers, Vol. I., No. 1183.

goods freight free as amounted to one third of the lading." ‡ Cocks expected the opening of China for the English in the near future. EATON advised as the easiest way out of their difficulties, "that the Chinese junks should be captured by the English as was done by the Dutch who annually brought large quantities of Raw Silk and Chinese Stuffs to Japan, to their great profit." WICKHAM wrote in the same sense, that unless the English were allowed to trade with the Moluccas, or opened a trade with China, or resorted to the system of spoliation and plunder pursued by the Dutch, the Japan trade was not worth continuing, as it procured rather ready money than ready profit.\*

‡ Letter of December 16th, 1180, Cal. of State Papers, Vol. I., No. 1180. From the Original in the India Office.

\* Letter of February 23rd, 1616.

## CHAPTER V.

### THREE YEARS OF HUMILIATION.

1617, 1618, 1619.

When the news of IYEWASU's death became publicly known at Hirado, it was considered to be the duty of the Chief of the English factory to go in embassy to Yedo and pay their respects to the Shogun HIDEYADA who held now the reins of government in his own hands. COCKS started from Hirado in the company of ADAMS on July 30th 1616 and arrived in Yedo on the 27th of August. After sending their presents to all the principal officers of state they waited a whole month for a renewal of their privileges and a letter of recommendation to the King of Cochinchina. Adams went almost daily to wait upon the Imperial Council from morning to night. But there was always other more pressing business on hand. It was a time of great changes in the political world of Japan. The younger brother of the Shogun HIDEYADA, KAZUSA-NO-SUKE TADATERU, had been reduced from an estate of 480,000 *koku* to one of less than 30,00, and was still suspected and strictly watched in the castle of Osaka. His father-in-law, the famous DATE MASAMUNE of Sendai was also in disfavour; his ambassador to the Pope, HASEKURA, had just returned to Uraga from New Spain. MASAMUNE disavowed him entirely and gave the ship † as a present to the son of the Imperial Admiral. The rumour which

† It had been built for MASAMUNE by ADAMS. Its length was 18 *ken*, breadth 5½ *ken*, greatest height 14 *ken*; its mast was a *Sugi* tree and 16.3 *ken* long. Its name was *Kinjohikan*. (Suganuma p. 436.)

COCKS refers to his letter of August 21st from Shizuoka, that the Shogun was preparing for a war against DATE MASAMUNE, was probably unfounded; but the untimely return of the embassy to the King of Spain and to the Pope cannot have failed to increase HIDEYADA'S hatred of the Christian missionaries and fear of their conspiracies abroad. The letter of recommendation to the King of Cochinchina was not granted. Nor would the Shogun renew the old privileges of the English in their entirety. In future the trade of the English Factory was to be limited to Hirado and Nagasaki. In vain did Cocks try to get more favourable conditions, after the excitement of the moment had passed by. He spent ten days on a visit to ADAMS' estate at Hemimura. On their return to Yedo they could find none among the friendly councillors who would endorse their petition, "for, as the common report is, no man dare speak to the Emperor of any matter they think is to his discontent, he is so furious, and no means but death and destruction."\* The new charter which Cocks carried with him to Hirado, † did not even mention the liberty of trading at Nagasaki, but spoke only of Hirado. In the instructions for the Daimyo and Bugyo, however, Nagasaki was added as a free trading port for the English nation.

In his reports to the East India Company and to the factories at Siam and Patani Cocks stated as the only reason for the unpleasant alteration, that (as he had been told by the Council) the Shogun could not endure the Spanish priests and their propagation of Christianity. On being questioned by the

\* Cocks, Diary I., 187 (October 8, 1616).

† Cocks and Adams left Yedo on October 17th and arrived at Hirado on December 3rd.

Council, whether the English nation were Christian or not, he had, of course, answered in the affirmative, but had pointed out, that all friars and jesuits had been banished out of England before he was born. He relied on the promise of the Shogun's Secretaries, that if he renewed his petition in the following year, it would be granted. EATON wrote to the Governor of the East India Company in a less hopeful tone; "it is so with all strangers as it is with us;" § and WICKHAM was candid enough to give the credit of their former advantages to the influence of ADAMS with whom he was not on the best terms of friendship. He wrote to the East India Company on January 15th, 1617: "These (the large) privileges which were first granted to us and the Hollanders were never given as yet to any other strangers as the Spaniards and Portuguese or Chinese and neither ever had been granted us but through the favour the old Emperor bore to Capt. ADAMS; so the father dying, the son thought them too large for us."

Good old COCKS was, however, more sanguine than his assistants. When "the Advice" returned from Bantam, † bringing an autograph letter from King JAMES I to IYEWASU, he set out on another journey to the Shogun who was then staying at Kioto. ADAMS accompanied him again and attended in the waiting room of the Council in the same tedious way from day to day. But despite all their efforts and the rich presents distributed in the name of the King and the Company, they had no success. The Councillors refused to answer the

§ December 18th 1616. (Cal. of State Papers I., 1183) ADAMS writes in the same sense on January 14th, 1617. (Rundall p. 84)

† She had left Hirado with WICKHAM as Supercargo on Feb. 1, 1617 and returned August 2, 1617.

Royal letter, because it was addressed to a dead person and was "therefore held ominous amongst the Japanese."§ Nor were their protestations that they had no acquaintance with the priests of any avail. They were told rather plainly, that they had as large privileges as any other strangers, and that they might depart if they were not contented with them. It was given as the real reason for their curtailment, that the Shogun "would have his own vassals to get the benefit to bring up merchandize rather than strangers." The principal movers in this whole arrangement were the merchants of the five towns (Yedo, Kioto, Osaka, Sakai and Nagasaki). The merchants of the four first-armed towns were accustomed to go annually to Nagasaki and buy the cargo of the Portuguese ship from Macao at stipulated prices,‡ and now leagued together for getting the same advantage over the Dutch and English. Cocks, in his indignation, calls this ring of traders "a company of usurers" and naively adds, that he had long feared such an occurrence. That the Daimyo of Hirado supported the petition of the Japanese traders to the utmost of his power, is quite comprehensible, as it virtually gave to him the superintendence of the whole trade of the Dutch and English; for it was not to be expected that the Factors would leave their expensive establishments at Hirado or build new houses at so near a place as Nagasaki. Still, despite this restriction to Hirado and Nagasaki, the position of the East India Company in Japan was much better than that of the Portuguese, because the Factory at Hirado retained the liberty of buying and selling to whom and

§ Cocks' letter in the Appendix of the Diary Vol. II., p. 297.

‡ This method of selling the whole cargo at a fixed price, was called "*pancado*."



when it pleased and to trade from Hirado to other countries in Eastern Asia. COCKS brought licenses for two ships for sailing to Siam and Cochinchina.

Now there was no choice left but to dissolve the branch establishments at Yedo and Osaka and to wind up the accounts with the agents there and at Kioto and Sakai. It was a great advantage that they had a reliable representative in ADAMS who was allowed, as a naturalized Japanese, to move about freely and take time over the business of settling with their debtors and agents. By March 22nd, 1618 the whole stock of all the subordinate factories was either sold or sent down to Hirado by him. ADAMS held such an exceptional position, that despite the Shogun's strictly forbidding the exportation of any Japanese weapons and arms, the officials at Sakai connived at his sending 25£ worth of Japanese lances and swords to Siam as presents from the English Factory.

When such a bad wind was blowing in the higher regions of the Japanese world, the English felt a corresponding change in the weather also locally at Hirado. While COCKS and ADAMS were the second time at Court, the authorities at Hirado set a watch upon the Factory House both by land and by sea. After the arrival of some Dutch ships the English were not permitted to sell any goods until the return of the Dutch embassy from Court in spite of the clear wording even of the new Charter. Even the personal freedom of the English merchants was now occasionally interfered with; when they had gone on a visit aboard a Dutch ship, the oars of their boat were taken away by order of the local magistrate. More humiliating still was the outrageous conduct of some private individuals by which ADAMS who acted for the English factory

was the principal sufferer. In March 1617 his junk had been chartered by the English factory for a voyage do Cochinchina' he going as master and SAYERS as Supercargo. But hardly had he set sail, when a barque coming after him desired him to stay which he did. Three well known citizens of Hirado came aboard; one at once "laid hold on Captain ADAMS arms, and, before he was aware, wrong him in such extreme sort that he put him to much pain;" another "laid hands on the hinder part of the hair of Mr. SAYERS," while the third twisted the dress of the boatswain in front of his breast; "which moved Captain ADAMS to fetch out the Emperor's pass, kissing it and holding it up over his head, meaning to protest and take witness of the violence they offered him." But the Japanese merchants who went as passengers in ADAMS' junk persuaded the easy-going Englishman to lay no complaint against the assailants in a Court of Law.\* After his return from Cochinchina he was again roughly handled at his own house in Hirado. The twelve Japanese sailors whom SARIS had taken to England in "the Clove," returned and demanded higher wages than they were according to the articles of agreement entitled to. When ADAMS refused to give evidence that the money given them by Saris in Japan was meant as a present, "one of them took ADAMS by the throat in his own lodging.†" No punishment was dealt out for this offence. With good reason did COCKS bitterly complain to the Regent of Hirado and note it down in his Diary: "It is strange to see how we are misused by these Japons of Hirado."‡ Very curious and psychologically in-

\* COCKS' Diary I, 244.

† *Ib.* p. 297.

‡ *Ib.* p. 266.

teresting is the answer of the *bongiu* USHINOSUKE, who came to visit him, on COCKS' complaint. "He said, I had reason so to say, yet we must consider the government was otherwise now in Japan than it was in the time of Ogosho Sama, for that the *tonos* in Japan would not be commanded in such sort by Shongo Sama as they were by Ogosho Sama." "These speeches of his were strange,"§ adds the good simple Chief of the Factory. We may say that the spirit of feudal loyalty in Old Japan is discernible in this peculiar answer of Ushinosuke.

The situation was thus entirely changed. Formerly the English very often abstained from complaining to the Justices of Hirado, because the punishments inflicted on those who had wronged them were so exceedingly severe; cutting into pieces being quite a common sentence. ADAMS advised WICKHAM in October 1615 not to go Law, because "the Japanese merchants seeing extremity used will be afraid to deal with us."† Now COCKS suspected some Japanese dealer of trifling with them for the very purpose of exhausting their patience and making them commit the blunder of bothering the judge about such an affair. In three years' time he came round to the same principle which ADAMS had always recommended; but from quite other motives. On November 1st, 1618 he entered into his Diary: "I referred all to Capt. ADAMS to make an end of it, without going to Law, where I am assured we should have found small right, as I have known per experience."‡

§ *Ib.* p. 276.

† Appendix No. II.

‡ COCKS' Diary II. p. 92.

While the English Factory at Hirado was thus suffering from the unfavourable changes in the internal development of Japan, it also received no assistance from without but had to act since August, 1617 in almost complete isolation. The factories of Bantan, Siam, and Patani were in this period from 1617 to 1619 incapable of fostering the trade with Japan by their own commercial enterprize, as they had more pressing objects nearer home. COCKS and his merchants showed themselves most attentive and enterprizing. They dispatched a ship of the Company to Bantam at their own risk, sent their old junk *Sea Adventure* to Siam and Patani, bought another Junk and chartered ADAMS' Japanese junk and a Chinese junk for keeping up connexion with CochinChina and Siam. The mystery of CARWARDENS' disappearance they could not solve; nor could they recover any of the losses suffered on the occasion of PEACOCK's catastrophe. But otherwise they did a fair business and, especially after the Daimyo of Hirado had paid his old debt of 300 Taels on New Year 1618, kept the coffers of the Factory above low ebb and the godowns sufficiently stocked. They invested also 700 Taels in an expedition to Formosa with a view of getting silk so much nearer their market. But the longer this isolation lasted, the more did they feel oppressed by the non-arrival of any English shipping from home and from Bantam. Everytime when the gun, fired at the entrance at the harbour, advised them that a foreign ship was coming and desiring to be towed in, they gladly despatched their boat hoping that they would at last give their assistance to their own kinsmen. Everytime they were disappointed, so that the Dutch in the end teased them about their eagerness to help others.

But there were in Hirado harbour still more disheartening

scenes in store for the patiently waiting Englishmen. On the 9th of August, 1618 an English ship, the *Attendance*, was brought as prize into Hirado harbour. The Dutch who had up to then confined their piratical practice to Chinese, Spanish and Portuguese ships, now gave proof of their naval superiority and reckless violence also towards the English nation and made the Japanese witnesses of this humiliation of their former friends. Cocks had always shown a very strong sense of his rights and duties as representative of the English nation in Japan and had, on the occasion of banquets and receptions, always insisted on having precedence over the Dutch Chief; how great must have been his fury and consternation at this unexpected insolence.

The Dutch claim that they had the monopoly of trading with all the Spice Islands was the origin of their hostilities against the English. Although the Directors of the Dutch East India Company had instructed their Governor General at Bantam JEAN PIETERSZ, COEN "to let the English trade without any interference," this energetic official sent warning to the English President at Bantam JOHN JOURDAIN, that all English ships, met with in the archipelago of the Spice islands, would be treated as enemies by the Dutch. JOURDAIN was not the man to be easily intimidated. The consequence was, that all over the Malay Archipelago acts of violence between Dutch and English were of frequent occurrence. On November 22nd, 1617 a regular skirmish was fought out by the mariners of both nations in the streets of Bantam, and some Englishmen who had been taken prisoners were killed in the Dutch Lodge.†

† TIELE. *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel*, Vol. I.

In Summer 1618 three English ships the "Thomas," the "Solomon" and the "Attendance," sailing from Macassar to Bantam were, after slight resistance, seized by the Dutch.† After replacing the English officers by Dutchmen, they were at once used for trading purposes. One of them, the "Attendance," being sent to Hirado, arrived there as early as August 9th of that year, where the Dutch brought her in, as COCKS says, "in a bravado."

The worthy Captain of the English Factory thought at once of taking his revenge. He sent a messenger to the Chinese of Nagasaki promising them his assistance if they would join him in going to Yedo "to ask justice against the Hollanders." On the following day a council was held in the English Factory. WICKHAM had left the service of the Company and was now on his way home;§ EATON was on board the Sea Adventure then sailing from the Riukiu islands to Siam. Thus COCKS had only the assistance of three merchants, SAYERS, NEALSON and OSTERWICK, a later arrival. They decided, that COCKS and NEALSON should go at once to Yedo and ask for redress and that two couriers should be sent with utmost haste to ADAMS, who was accompanying a Dutch embassy to Court, that he should not fulfil his contract with the open enemies of his native country. The Japanese authorities encouraged COCKS "to make haste, not doubting but the Hollanders would be driven out of Japan, if I (Cocks is the writer) made any complaint in due form against them."

† Cal of State Papers II., No. 424.

§ WICKHAM died at Jacatra of dysentery between September 27th and November 27th, 1618. As he was reported to have left £5,000, the Company suspected that he had carried on "private trade" and seized his property. But the mother and wife sued against the Company and, after long litigation, won their case 1624.

The Dutch Chief SPECX did not wish to extend the deplorable hostilities to Japan. He visited the English factory, expressed his regret for "that which has happened" and offered the restitution of the "Attendance" to the English. But the wounded feelings of COCKS could not be so easily healed; he lost his temper and told SPECX who promised to hold friendship with the English in Japan as long as they had no direct order to the contrary, that he did not care a half-penny for this friendship. A few days afterwards he sent a letter written in Spanish to the Dutch factory, in which he said, that he had good reason for holding the Dutch Governor General as an enemy of the King of England, and that he did not fear his Dutch colleague's threatening words nor his weapons. It was no happy hour, when COCKS, moved by patriotic indignation, refused the apology and the fair proposal of the experienced Dutchman.

The first disappointment for the angry Captain of the English Factory after he had set out in the heat of August on his third journey to Court, was the attitude of ADAMS. This friend of both parties had received COCKS' letter while on his way with the Dutch to Osaka; but he could not approve of the English imploring the Shogun to punish the Dutch in Japan for robberies committed in the Malay Archipelago. Quicktempered as ADAMS was, he wrote an answer which COCKS in his Diary characterized as "such an unseasonable and unreasonable letter as I little expected he would have done, saying he was none of the Company's servants . . . . and persuading me not to go up about this matter."\* But COCKS was determined

\* Diary II. p. 71 ff.

on his course of action. In Kioto he engaged a "scribe" to draft and write his complaint in suitable language. It became rather a long document, but the High-Justice of Kioto pronounced it to be well framed. Fully six weeks (from October 15th to November 15th 1618) were COCKS, ADAMS and NEALSON detained in Yedo. What answer on their complaint they took with them, we know from COCKS letter of March 10th 1620† and from the Report of the Dutch Governor General COEN; viz, that the Shogun refused to meddle in that affair saying, that anything committed within his territory would certainly be righted by his officials, but that he was only Lord of Japan and not of the Sea nor of other Kingdoms.‡ The Dutch had in every respect the better of their rivals, and COCKS could have foreseen this result, as he himself two years previously had written to his friends, that the Chinese complaining of robberies committed near Manilla received a reply to the same effect.

But the culminating point of misery for the English residents in Japan was not yet reached. In the year 1619 they were assaulted and ill-treated in the streets and harbour of Hirado by both the Dutch and the Japanese.

While the English received no shipping, the Dutch brought again two English prizes into the straits of Hirado. Out of one of these ships, "the Swan," three Englishmen made their escape and found shelter in the English house. When COCKS refused to give them up to their conquerors,§ the Dutch "proclaimed

† Appendix of the Diary II. p. 303.

‡ Generale Missive 22nd January, 1620 in the Hague Archives. Exactly the same attitude had been taken by the Shogun in 1617, when the Chinese complained of robberies off Manilla.

§ The Dutch applied in vain to the Daimyo of Hirado, "that their English *Kengos* (which in Japan is slaves) should be sent back unto



by sound of trumpet aboard all their ships (they had seven in harbour) open war against the English nation, both by sea and land, with fire and sword, to take their ships and goods and destroy their persons to the uttermost of their power." A price of 50 Ryals was set on COCKS' head and of 30 for each of the others. It came to an encounter in the streets of Hirado, in which one of the Dutch aggressors was wounded. The sailors then came from the ships threatening to storm the English Factory and cut the throats of all its inmates. They made three assaults on one day and after entering and wounding two Englishmen, were only repelled by the assistance rendered to the weaker party by the Japanese. A company of Japanese soldiers was sent into the English Factory for protection; food and wages being provided by the East India Company. The Daimyo of Hirado forbade the Dutch to pass by the English house and caused both Captains, SPECX and COCKS, to give a written assurance before witnesses, that the Dutch and English would not hurt nor abuse each other in the streets of Hirado.

The Dutch considered this pledge binding only on land. On the water they abused the English nation, whenever they passed by the Factory, brandishing their swords and using filthy language. When the junk chartered by the English for CochinChina arrived at Nagasaki and one of the English merchants, RICHARD KING went by boat to Hirado to give notice, the Dutch took him prisoner and brought him to their lodge, where they illtreated him. But the Daimyo of Hirado interfered; his soldiers took SPECX to the Palace, whence he was set free only after KING had been liberated.

them," as COCKS put it in his letter to the Company. (Diary Vol. II. p. 304.) *Kengo* seems to be the Kiushiu pronunciation of *Kego* 家子, = Domestic.

Now the junk "Sea Adventure" with EATON as Cape Merchant returned from Siam to Hirado harbour. When she passed the Dutch ships, they fired at her, killing a Japanese mariner. This open breach of the peace being a direct violation of the Imperial privileges granted to the English nation, COCKS made his fourth journey to Court (this time to Kioto, where the Shogun was staying) to demand justice. Order was given by the central government, that the Daimyo of Hirado should hear both parties and pronounce judgment. But until March 1620, nothing was done in this suit about a point of international law.†

Most peculiar was the justice administered in a case in which the English asked for remedy against some Japanese who had injured them. While they were making ropes for their junk in a street of Hirado, the servants of a Japanese gentleman and adviser to the Daimyo picked a quarrel with the English merchants superintending the work and knocked one of them EDMUND SAYERS down "with clubs and staves," wounding him very sorely, while EATON and OSTERWICK escaped with a beating to the English House. COCKS went to the master of the assailants to report the matter; but this gentleman did not even deign to speak to the aged complainant. Then the Daimyo of Hirado was approached to see justice done. He sent word, that two of the Japanese offenders had been banished for this act of violence and demanded the same punishment for EDMUND SAYERS threatening to have him killed if he were not immediately sent away to Nagasaki. COCKS saw no other possibility but to comply with the request. The Daimyo was

† In order to avoid complications with the Dutch, permission was now given for English ships to go either to Nagasaki or Hirado. But very little use was made of this option.

satisfied when SAYERS was removed to Bantam together with 13 others, for whom COCKS had no work to do.† The order of banishment being revoked, SAYERS returned to Hirado in 1620.

Well may we sympathise with poor old COCKS, whose unhappy fate it was to report such a bad state of things without any apparent hope of a change. And the personal humiliations he felt so much were by no means counterbalanced by any considerable profits of trade.‡ “My grief is,” he wrote to the East India Company in March 1620, “I lie in a place of much loss and expense to your Wors. and no benefit to myself but loss of time in my old age, although God knows my care and pains is as much as if benefit did come thereby.” Besides, some errors and omissions had been discovered in his commercial accounts sent to Bantam. During the two years’ illness of his bookkeeper NEALSON and a shorter but not less dangerous sickness of OSTERWICK, he had to do most of the accountkeeping and copying work himself, so that the criticism that the books “jumped so near in balance” despite some erroneous and notably false entries fell upon the overworked Chief of the Factory. The only hope that his labour in Japan was not entirely wasted, was based on the consideration, that for any enterprises of the Company in the Moluccas “Japan must be the Company’s storehouse” whence to get sailors and artisans, their great ordnance, powder and shot, their beef and pork, their flour and biscuit, their beans and rice, their salted tunny-

† COCKS bought for this purpose a junk of 50 tons, called “God-speed,” “leing open behind as all *somas* are,” for 430 Tuels. She was “made to steer sh p fashion” and heavily armed.

‡ He complained that the greater part of the benefit from their enterprises to Patani and Siam fell to the Japanese mariners, who are so unruly, that when a ship is wholly manneled with them, there is no dealing with them. (Cal. of State Papers II. No. 820 p. 359 f.)

fish and dried *tai*, their timber and hemp, their iron work and pitch and, not to forget it, their Japanese *sake*. The expectation, that Japan would be a stepping stone for their trade with China was, after he had sacrificed so much on this speculation, apparently fading away from his inner view.‡

‡ Cocks' letter of March 10th, 1620, printed (with unimportant omissions) in the Appendix to Cocks Diary p. 301-315.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT HIRADO AS AGENCY OF THE "FLEET OF DEFENCE." (AUGUST 1620—JULY 1622.)

At the same time when COCKS was journeying to Yedo to complain at the Shogun's court of the humiliation offered to his nation by the Dutch in Hirado harbour, the East India Company delivered to King JAMES I a statement "of the manifest and insupportable wrongs and abuses lately done by the Hollanders unto your Majesty and your Majesty's subjects in the East Indies." ‡ The English ambassador at the Hague received at once instruction to lay these complaints before the States-General and to demand their answer as to how far they would allow these insolences of their subjects. The policy of king JAMES was not only to recover the losses suffered by his subjects but to conclude a treaty with the States-General and the deputies of both chartered Companies "for the preservation and increase of navigation and traffic in the East Indies." The Dutch East India Company was not much inclined to give satisfaction to its English rival. But the old alliance of the two countries and the evident danger of retaliations nearer home induced the Dutch after many fruitless procrastinations to agree in the end to a "Treaty of Defence" concluded in London on June 2nd and ratified at Westminster on July 16th 1619 and by the Dutch East India Company August 16th

‡ Cal. of State Papers II, No. 425.

1619. Both Companies agreed to trade in the Moluccas as partners, so that two thirds of the spices belonged to the Dutch and one third to the English. Each party was to keep in the farther East Indies 12 ships in a common "Fleet of Defence." On the 27th of March 1620 this "treaty between the English and Dutch concerning trade in the East Indies" arrived in "the Bull" in the harbour of Batavia (just being built on the site of Jacatra which the Dutch had burned). Two months later the methods of "Defence" were arranged by the now allied Presidences in every detail.

The instructions given to the Captains were very remarkable. "If you meet Portuguese, Spaniards or their adherents anywhere, assault and surprize them." All prizes taken (Vessels, Cargos and Prisoners) should at the Fleet's arrival with them at Hirado, be equally divided between the English and Dutch factories there. Japanese junks and Chinese ships bound for Japan were to be left unmolested; but Chinese vessels going to or returning from the Philippines were to be seized upon as good prize. "If any Portugal shipping shall in flying recover any road or port upon the coast of Japan, you shall nevertheless force him from his anchorage from under the land." It must be admitted, the neutrality and peace of the Japanese territorial waters and coasts were frivolously trifled with in these instructions from the "Council of Defence" at Jacatra to the "Admiral, Vice-Admiral and the Council of ten ships belonging to the Companies of England and Holland trading to the East Indies." But if acts corresponding to these instructions were committed, would not the Japanese government quite naturally hold the Factories at Hirado responsible for the outrages of their shipping? We shall see how much

trouble was caused to the English factory by one of the piratical deeds of the "Fleet of Defence."

The first news of the peace with the Dutch was brought to Hirado by the "James Royal," Captain MARTIN PRING, on July 23rd 1620. It must have been a great relief to the English merchants after three years of isolation, humiliation and anxieties. Unfortunately there is a gap of nearly two years in COCKS' Diary, so that we have no immediate record of his feelings at the time. But so deep was the impression, that even five months later he inserted in an otherwise very dry business letter to the Company the pathetic exclamation: "God be praised for it, and God grant the Dutch may as firmly follow the orders prescribed as I make no doubt the English will do, and then there will no occasion of discontent be offered hereafter." At the same time EATON added in his own letter to the Company to the report on their hearing of the peace: "which was welcome news unto us that live here." † Only a few days afterwards the various vessels of the Fleet of Defence arrived in rapid succession. First the big ships of 800 tons: the flagship the "Moon" on July 25th, the "Elizabeth," and the "Palsgrave" on August 5th, followed by two more English and four Dutch ship. But their cruising had not been very successful. Only the "Elizabeth" had captured any prizes. She had taken a small Portuguese frigate‡ sailing from Manila via Macao to Japan, the captain of which was a Japanese Christian JOACHIM DIAZ HIRAYAMA. There were

† Cal. of State Papers vol. II. No. 929 and 930.

‡ The flag of this vessel is clear from COCKS' "Receipt for goods landed from the Portugal frigate captured by the Elizabeth, one of the Fleet of Defence." December 30th, 1620. (Cal. of State Papers Vol. II. No. 944).

four Spanish, some Portuguese and quite a number of Japanese passengers on board. They protested before the Daimyo and the Justices of Hirado against so flagrant an act of robbery, and some Japanese merchants petitioned also the central government for redress. It would have been a clear case for the plaintiff, if the captured ship had not itself intended to infringe the regulations of legitimate intercourse in Japan and deceive the Japanese authorities. For two of the alleged Spanish merchants were, as the English found out from their belongings and letters, Roman Catholic priests, one the Augustine brother PEDRO DE ZUÑIGA of noble Spanish descent, the other the Dominican LUIS FLORES, a native of Ghent in Flanders. To bring priests to Japan was in the eyes of HIDEYADA the most heinous crime one of his subjects could commit, the penalty of the wood pile being by public proclamations and placards held out to anyone who would harbour a priest in his house. COCKS based his hope for a good outcome of the lawsuit upon the capture of these "two seminary priests (or Jesuits), people defended not to come into Japan, which makes the better for us."†

By the "Treaty of Defence" the English Factory at Hirado was brought into a most peculiar situation. Twice in the two last years had COCKS lodged complaints against the Dutch on account of their thefts and robberies. Now an English ship had committed the very same offence in Japanese waters against a ship carrying Japanese passengers and bound for Japan. Valuable wares belonging to Japanese traders were seized and kept in the godown of the English Factory. How

† COCKS' letter to the East India Company (December 13th 1620) partially printed in the Appendix to the Diary, Vol. II. p. 318-322.



could they justify this action before the Shogun's court, whither the complaint of their victims had been forwarded?

COCKS and SPEOX very cleverly found a way out of the difficulty. They sent a deputation of two Dutch and two English captains and merchants\* with rich presents to Yedo and explained their new policy in a long letter to the Shogun, dated Hirado the 20th of August, 1620.† In it they gave notice, that the former differences between the Dutch and English and all grudges between them were "laid aside and fully ended." As they were compelled "through charge from their princes" to make spoil and havock of all Portuguese and Spaniards wherever they met them, they had the courage to "entreat and beseech his Majesty not to give any more passes or letters to any junk for Macao and the Philippines, because our enemies by that means are supplied by them of all provisions as munitions of war and otherwise, and to no other end but the benefit of some Japanese merchants, although to the great hindrance of his Majesty's lands and State. For as long as the voyages from Japan to Luzon and Macao do continue, his Majesty may be assured, that although they may be straightly commanded to the contrary, they will not leave to bring Friars from thence as long as they are allowed this trade."‡

The decision of the pending question, whether the Portuguese frigate should be found good prize or not was referred to

\* The names of the English ambassadors were CHARLES CLEVINGER and JOSEPH COCKRAM, and of the Dutchmen JACQUES LEFEBRE and MATTHIAS VAN DEN BROEK. They left Hirado on August 31st and returned on December 16th 1620.

‡ See Appendix IV.

† The whole of this letter is printed in Appendix No. IV. from the English translation preserved in the India Office.

the Daimyo of Hirado and the governor of Nagasaki HASEGAWA GONROKU. It depended upon sufficient evidence being found that the two Spanish passengers were really priests and not merchants. This simple question of fact was now of vital importance for the English and Dutch factories.

While the seized ship was slowly rotting away in its Hirado anchorage, its cargo remained locked up in one godown of the English Company and two of the Daimyo of Hirado, the numerous prisoners, taken on that occasion, having been distributed by lot between the two allied Factories. Both alleged priests fell to the Dutch Company, the Captain and most Japanese to the English. COCKS set at once all his captives free; for why should he feed them at the expense of the Company? The Dutch were under the necessity of watching over their two captives and making them confess their true character. But for many months both prisoners denied their religious calling; no torture could wring from them any other deposition, but that they were merchants. Nor was it of much avail, that one of them, ZUÑIGA, had been in Japan before and was therefore well known to many Japan Christians and even to HASEGAWA GONROKU. Only some Chinamen and Japanese of low position witnessed that they had seen ZUÑIGA officiate both in Japan and the Philippines; but their evidence was not considered sufficient. The sympathies of the judges for the poor captives were so strong, that the most obvious proofs of identity were neglected as completely as the clear evidence of the letters brought by the two missionaries from their superiors in the Philippines. But on November 30th 1621 ZUÑIGA suddenly changed his policy. He confessed voluntarily that he really was the person the Dutch and Eng-

lish asserted him to be and not the merchant JUAN GONCALEZ as he had pretended during the long period of nearly sixteen months. †

Therewith the *criminal* aspect of the lawsuit against the allied factories disappeared; the capture of the frigate was justified in the eyes of the Japanese authorities. The question of ownership of the stolen ship and its cargo remained, however, unsettled for another twelvemonths. In August 1622 (the same month when the two captured friars and Captain JOACHIM DIAZ HIRAYAMA were burnt to death and twelve of their Japanese fellow travellers beheaded) the Dutch received order from the Shogun to deliver all reprisal goods taken two years previously by the "Elizabeth" to HASEGAWA GONROKU, governor of Nagasaki, and to keep only the empty Frigate which had in the meantime become rotten. In vain did COCKS protest against this breach of their privileges. By November 23rd the goods were handed over to the Nagasaki officials. They consisted of 4184 Deer skins, 4114 pieces of Porcelain, 36 Canisters of white Canton Silk, 627 Canisters of white and black Sugar, 4 bags of China roots, 4 bags of Drugs and 4 small pieces of Logwood. Only a Crucifix of Gold, 12 small gold rings, 2 golden chains and 106 Ryals in cash, that had not been deposited in the Daimyo of Hirado's hands, were left to the English and Dutch of their first spoils under the Treaty of Defence. "God send us well out of Japan, for I doubt it will be every day worse than other" was the sigh with which COCKS concluded his last report on this ignominious affair. ‡

† LUIS FLORES followed his example five months later. He declared his identity on March 22nd, 1622.

‡ As far as the Dutch and English were concerned, religious anti-pathies against the Roman Catholic priests cannot be pointed to as ex-

The attentive reader will have noticed, that the latest deed of ADAMS alluded to was his assistance to COCKS on his journey to Yedo in 1618. Was the old favourite at Court not appealed to, when Cocks went again to complain of the Dutch in 1620, or when the capture of the Portuguese frigate was to be justified before the Shogun? The answer is, that he was no more available. He had returned from one of his many expeditions to Siam and brought some yellow silk for the English Factory immediately before COCKS started on his journey to Kioto in August 1619. It was arranged, that he should follow his old friend as soon as possible. But already on September 8th EASTON sent word to

tenuating their guilt. It is quite interesting to note that with the older residents in Japan the *odium theologicum* brought from Europe passed gradually away. The designated Bishop of Japan VALENTIN CARVALHO reported 1611, that ADAMS very kindly and willingly helped the Spaniards and received them into his own house, when they were ill. COCKS was in the beginning very harsh in his judgments about the Jesuits and blamed ADAMS severely for his friendly intercourse with them. Afterwards he assisted many a secret priest who called at his house with a meal and a money pre-ent. Among their servants the English had a large number of Roman Catholic Christians, who knew Spanish or Portuguese. With attempts of conversion even the most overzealous priests could not trouble the Protestants, after IYEWASU had by Proclamation banished all Friars in 1614. Of an earlier attempt by a young priest to convert ADAMS and his Dutch friends by means of a miracle COCKS wrote an interesting account to the Lord Treasurer's secretary THOMAS WILSON. A young friar argued with ADAMS at Uruga, that by the mere strength of faith one could make mountains disappear or trees move or the sun stand still. "Mr. ADAMS told him, he did not believe he could do either the one or the other. Not that he was in doubt but that the power of God was able to do them and greater matters too; but that he firmly believed that all miracles ceased long since and that those of late times were but fiction and nothing to be respected." The friar, however, insisted on demonstrating, that he could walk on the sea, so that thousands of people came to behold and see the event. He appeared provided with a great piece of wood made in the form of a cross reaching from above the girdle to his shoes, and boldly went into the sea. But he would have been drowned, if MELCHIOR VAN SANTVOORT had not saved him with his boat. The next day ADAMS went to see the friar and found him ill in bed. "Had you put believed," he said to his visitor, "I had accomplished it." For very same the friar had to leave Japan and returned to Manilla, where his Bishop punished him with imprisonment for this rash attempt. (Public Record Office. East Indies I. No. 43.)

his chief, that ADAMS was "sickly and minded to take physio" and that it was quite uncertain, when he would be able to go up to Kioto. He never went. The last trace of activity we have found of the worthy Captain dates from the same month (September 1619) when he induced the Dutch of Hirado to set free two Englishmen, master and carpenter of the captured English ship the "Hound," whom a Dutch ship had brought from Patani.<sup>o</sup> From that time to the 10th of March, 1620 we have not a single line written by Englishmen in Japan preserved to us; even the letters sent home on that day contain nothing about ADAMS. It is only in COCKS' two letters to the East India Company of December 13th and 14th 1620 (i.e. after an interval of 15 months) that we hear anything of the fate of the first Englishman in Japan. He writes: "And our good friend Capt. WM. ADAMS, who was so long before us in Japan, departed out of this world the 16th of May last, and made Mr. WILLIAM EATON and myself his overseers."<sup>†</sup> And in the other letter: "I cannot but be sorrowful for the loss of such a man as Captain WM. ADAMS was, he having been in such favour with two Emperors of Japan as never was any Christian in these parts of the world, and might freely have entered and had speech with the Emperors, when many Japan Kings stood without and could not be permitted. And this Emperor has confirmed the lordship to his son which the other Emperor gave to the father."<sup>§</sup>

Of what illness ADAMS died, we cannot say. He must

<sup>o</sup> Appendix to Cocks' Diary. Vol. II, p. 321. RUNDALL in copying the same passage gives the date "the 6th of May last." (p. 87.) That this is a mistake and the 16th the proper reading, is clear from the abstracts in Cal. of State Papers. Vol. II, No. 930.

<sup>†</sup> Cocks' Diary. Appendix Vol. II, p. 322

<sup>§</sup> RUNDALL p. 88. 1972 Taels 2 Mace 4 Candereens.

have reached an age of at least 57 years, probably he was a year or two older. That he died at Hirado, I conclude from the fact, that already six days after his death (May 22nd, 1620) an Inventory of his Estate was drawn up in the English Factory. His will in Japanese and English was sent by COCKS to England and was preserved in the Archives of the East India Company, when RUNDALL published his "Memo-rials of the Empire of Japon" 1850, but has since been lost. He left besides his "lordship" at Hemimura and his houses at Uraga, Yedo and Hirado about 600£ in ready money, notes of hand, merchandize and personal effects;\* half of this moveable property was to go to his wife MARY ADAMS and his child in England, while he left the other half to his son JOSEPH and his daughter SUSANNA at Uraga. For his child at Hirado he seems to have provided separately from his Hirado property. The swords he used to wear, were, since he died at Hirado, also left there. COCKS took them with him on his next journey to Yedo. Under date of December 29th, 1621 we find the following entry: "And I delivered the two katanas and wakidashi of Capt. ADAMS left per will to his son JOSEPH; where were tears shed at delivery."†

As NEALSON had already died of consumption in March 1620, five of the eight Englishmen whom SARIS once left in Japan as representation of the East India Company, had passed away in 6½ years. Only three, COCKS, EATON and SAYERS were still alive, when the "welcome news" of the Treaty of Defence reached Hirado.

\* RUNDALL, p. 88. 1,972 Taels 2 Mace 4 Candareens,

† COCKS' Diary. Vol. II, p. 233.

We have seen, how unprofitable the first cruise of the Fleet of Defence to Japan turned out. The repairs of the five English ships and their victualling were now a heavy drain on the coffers of the Factory. We learn that the sheathing of "the Royal James" alone amounted to 9408 Taels, so that we well believe Cocks' statement, that the whole outlay on the fleet amounted to over 10,000£ sterl. Although the ships had brought a quantity of Silk and Lead, the Factory was obliged to contract a loan of 11,500 Taels at the then usual interest of 2% per month. After six months of idleness a combined fleet of Defence of seven ships set sail from Hirado harbour on a cruise to and off Manilla. Their first capture was a Chinese junk met with on January 25th 1621. The youngest and strongest of the unfortunate captives were made to work on board the English and Dutch ships, while the others were simply exposed on the Maravelas islands in the west of Luçon. At least five other junks had been taken and some empty vessels burnt, when the piratical expedition returned to Hirado on the last of June and in the beginning of July 1621.

In the meantime the English factory had been very busy building a new large godown for the reception of the captured goods. The packages landed were sealed and the accounts checked by representatives of both Companies. After the estimation and distribution had been concluded, Cocks could report to the Presidency of Bantam, that the English Company's share amounted only to 35629 Taels 8 Mace 5 Candereens,\* as much had been stolen by the unruly mariners. Even of the goods in the godowns the sailors exacted a premium

\* From a lost letter of September 7th 1622.

of one sixteenth of the value, so that the factory in the end got only 29000 Ryals of that illgotten gain. By selling cheaply what they had got and stolen, the mariners spoiled the market for their employers.

This second stay of so many English sailors at Hirado caused no end of trouble to the Chief of the Factory. There were serious fightings between the Dutch and English ending with the slaughter of one Englishman and a Dutchman and the subsequent execution of the guilty parties. Then a good many drunken sailors came to grief in their encounters with the Japanese or had their clothes taken from them for drinks they could not pay for. Some able-bodied seamen run away to enlist with the Portuguese at Nagasaki. Of six that were caught, four were hanged on board the "Elizabeth." Cocks exercised his right of jurisdiction over all Englishmen coming to Japan with much zeal and energy. The consequence was some ill feeling between him and the captains and officers of the English ships. While one of the latter complained to the Company, that there was "such striving for greatness among their servants here,"\* Cocks "would make known the pride of some or most of the sea commanders, especially in these ships of defence, who take too much upon themselves, and domineer over all the merchants, who are thrust back and sometimes in danger of their lives for telling the truth and looking out for the Company's benefit."\*\*

Two unpleasant burdens were imposed upon them by the Daimyo of Hirado. One was a loan which he needed on the

\* Letter of September 22<sup>d</sup> 1621. Cal. of State Papers. vol. II No. 1105.

\*\* Letter of September 30<sup>th</sup> 1621. Ib. No. 1112.



occasion of his marriage with a relation of the Shogun. He asked for 20000 Taels, but was in the end satisfied with 6000 from the Dutch and 3000 Taels from the English, accepting moreover raw Silk and other merchandize instead of silver. The other imposition was much more troublesome. The Daimyo insisted on the necessity of sending a deputation to Yedo with presents for the Shogun and his Councillors. Most unwillingly did Cocks yield to this demand. But in the end he and CAMPS, chief of the Dutch factory, started on their expensive and useless journey to Yedo on November 30th 1621, from which they returned in April of the following year. The aim of this journey was suggested by the Daimyo of Hirado. They ought to try to induce the Central Government to repeal an alleged order, by which the English and Dutch were forbidden to carry out of the country Japanese sailors or any guns (there was a gun manufactory at Hirado), lances, swords, gunpowder, shot or other warlike munition. The latter general term was interpreted so as to possibly comprehend rice, bread, wine and meat as well. If that were the real meaning, Cocks concluded: "it is no abiding for us in Japan." He explained these obstacles being laid in their way with the very plausible remark: "The English are thought of much the worse, since they have joined with the Hollanders."<sup>†</sup>

There was, however, no prohibition issued except for the exportation of deadly weapons and men. On the contrary, all kinds of stores and provisions were readily and abundantly

<sup>†</sup> Cocks' Diary, July 20th 1621 (II. p. 178) in connexion with Cocks' letter of September 30th 1621. (Cal of State Papers II No. 1112). The latter is partially printed in the Appendix to the Diary II. p. 324—329. The above quotations are, however, left out and supplied here from the Ms. in the East India Office.

supplied except Canvas for their sails and Tar, because these articles were not produced in Japan. Everything was cheap ; especially timber. I give from a contract with a timber merchant only one Item for the sake of illustration ; Oak plants, 18 feet long, 12 inches wide, 3 inches thick were sold at a little over seven shillings each. Only refined oil for their lamps was thought dear at 1 shilling 2½ pence per Gallon, as was also "Arrack" at seven pence. The factory filled some houses which it had built at Kochiura (S. of the town of Hirado) on ground presented by the Daimyo, with stores required for the Fleet of Defence. The little town of Hirado had now, from a commercial standpoint, its most flourishing period. But the unruly mariners often disturbed the peace of its roads. Often Japanese innkeepers resorted to the device of keeping some of the sailors prisoners until their boon companions would pay for the drinks and other things provided. As neither the Captains of the fleet nor the Factory recognized any responsibility for the debts contracted by the Crew, not a few Englishmen had to stay a long time in the custody of their creditors. Sometimes their attempts of escape led to skirmishes in the streets, occasionally with the result, that the Japanese creditors were hurt and brought as prisoners to the Dutch or English factories. Once in July 1621 the justices of Hirado interfered, took two mischievous Dutchmen prisoners and "without any more ado cut off their heads." But afterwards they left these sailor squabbles alone, and both, foreigners and Japanese, took the law into their own hands. EATON complained, that the Daimyo would not even put down his foot, when three English sailors were kidnapped and sold to the Spaniards at Nagasaki, and that the Japanese used both the English and the Dutch "so

villainously that it was insufferable." On the other hand some Japanese were kept for more than 3 months prisoners in the English Factory without ever (despite the remonstrations of a Japanese friend) allowing them meat or alcoholic drinks. A party of six English sailors had a very peculiar fate. They had escaped from their Japanese creditors and custodians to a Dutch vessel, but when they went ashore were captured again and taken to Nagasaki. Again they escaped and found refuge in the Junk of JOHN JOOSSEN the Dutchman who had arrived in Japan with ADAMS and had also been a favourite of IYEYASU. He was greatly indebted to some great Noblemen in Yedo and demanded not less than 20,000 Taels for their delivery, which of course was refused. These six Englishmen together with 11 sailors that had deserted from "the Moon" were accordingly used by him to man his Junk, with which he fled from Japan out of fear the Shogun would order him to be cut in pieces, because he could not pay his debts. Thus the oldest foreign resident in Japan after whom the Yayosucho between Kajibashi and Babasakihashi is still called, stole away from Japan with the help of a stolen English crew. He arrived in Batavia in June 1622.

A second plundering expedition from Hirado to Manilla Bay was undertaken by ten English and Dutch ships from November 23rd 1621 to July 29th 1622. They captured two frigates and six richly laden Junks. From their seizures the English Factory realized as the English share 200000 Ryals or 40000 £ sterling, while the expenses of the outfit were only estimated at something over 7400 £. But COCKS and OSTERWICK together with two Dutchmen were again required to go to Yedo and take presents to the Shogun and high officials, and were kept

there waiting for three months. Besides the Daimyo of Hirado exacted a loan of 4000 Taels from the English and 5000 from the Dutch without interest, "saying that, as their goods were stolen, it would cost them nothing." Thus the judgment of JOSUAH COCKRAM who had gone as Cape merchant with the fleet, was quite correct, that after all "these Manilla voyages have not proved so profitable as troublesome and chargeable,"† to say nothing of the moral aspects of this peculiar enterprize.

† Cal. of State Papers, vol III. No 163.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH FACTORY IN JAPAN. (AUGUST 1622—DECEMBER 1623.)

The position of the English Factory at Hirado was considerably lowered in consequence of the Treaty of Defence. Formerly it had enjoyed an independent position directly under the Court of the East India Company. As it had been founded (differently from its Dutch rival) by a special expedition sent from and returning to England, there was never any idea of subordinating it to another English establishment in the Far East. We have seen how it pulled through a period of perfect isolation. But after a Council of Defence had been formed at the centre of the Dutch agencies in the Indies, the Dutch organisation had so much influence upon the less systematic English management, that Batavia was looked upon as the home quarters of the allied fleet that was destined to undertake regular cruises from Hirado to Manilla Bay, although the English ships were fitted out and repaired in Japan exclusively. The Council of Defence at Batavia was now an intermediate authority between the Company and its most distant Factory. When it was dissolved, its authority was claimed by the "Presidency" of that place; the old days of shaping his own commercial policy were passed by for ever for the worthy representative of the English nation in Japan.

The reason of the dissolution of the alliance of the two maritime Companies was the greater energy and selfishness of the Dutch partner. The English did not keep the agreement,

because they had not 10 but only five ships in the Fleet of Defence; nor did they bear their due share of the expense of fortifying Batavia. The Dutch undertook an expedition against Macao with a force of 15 big ships and, after their defeat there by the combined Portuguese and Chinese, conquered the Pescadores 1622. They did not expect help from the English, who had no ships available and considered themselves unequally and unjustly treated. In the Netherlanders Lodge at Hirado on the 2nd of August, 1622 instructions of the Council of Defence were presented,<sup>†</sup> according to which both nations were to separate their ships and follow their own devices.

But in the meantime the Court of the East India Company had already suggested to the President FURSLAND at Batavia, that the charges may be lessened by dissolving unprofitable factories like that in Japan.<sup>‡</sup> FURSLAND and his merchants were not inclined to remove the factory at once; they wished to learn what chances of trade there were, after the piratical career of the Company was closed. In order to reduce the expenses they gave, however, "order" to RICHARD COCKS and the two senior merchants EATON and SAYERS to come away in the fleet and to leave only OSTERWICK and two assistants behind with a capital of 5,000 Taels. COCKS was not accustomed to receive "orders" from *Batavia*; he wrote to the *Company*, that these "directions," God willing, shall be followed so near as we can."<sup>††</sup> As he was in the position to send in the "Bull" a rich cargo (70,000 Taels in money and mer-

<sup>†</sup> Cal. of State Papers III., No. 70.

<sup>‡</sup> March 18th, 1622. Cal. of State Papers III. No. 55.

<sup>††</sup> Letter of September 7th, 1622. Printed in Appendix to Diary II., p. 331-336.

chandize) to Batavia and could expect very soon to "get in monies to despatch the "Elizabeth,"<sup>o</sup> he practically disproved the presupposition, that the Japan Factory was unprofitable. As though he was going to prepare for the future, he sent two of his merchants with presents to Yedo and felt himself "constrained to stay here till the next monsoon to set matters right."<sup>†</sup> We can still trace his resentment of the "orders" sent him from Batavia in his avoiding to send anything in the "Palsgrave," although the President Mr. FURLAND had "commanded" him to choose this ship, and in the complaint of the Council at Batavia, that they (of Japan) "scarce so much as take notice of the order." Cocks hoped "the next monsoon to come towards *England*"; the Batavia Council was going to "send next monsoon a fit man to bring them to this port of *Batavia*."

But the authority of the Batavia factory was not a mere presumption. Already in July, 1614 (i.e. only a year after Cocks had reached Japan) it was proposed in the Court of the East India Company in London, that "two special factors" should be appointed at Surat and Bantam and that they should have authority over "all other factors."<sup>‡</sup> Corresponding instructions were sent out to JOURDAIN; but the times were too troublesome to carry them out and let the Japan factory be informed of this intended organisation. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Defence there was a chance of carrying the plan into practice, Jacatra [or Batavia as it was now named] taking the place of Bantam since the latter place had been

<sup>o</sup> She brought about the same value to Batavia.

<sup>†</sup> Letter of November, 1622. Printed in Appendix to Diary II., p. 336-338.

<sup>‡</sup> Cal. of State Papers vol. I., No. 742.

destroyed by the Dutch. We have still "a List of all the Factors and Assistants in the Indies under the command of the President at Batavia," dated December 5th, 1624, where 12 Factories (among them that of Japan) are enumerated. Among the subordinates of the acting President we find also COCKS' name.<sup>o</sup> Just as the motion for dissolving the Hirado Factory was considered, the new organisation was being carried into effect.

The President and Council at Batavia made it a special point to assert their new authority. They drafted an order to "Mr. Cox and the rest" in a studiedly inconsiderate and harsh tone and sent JOSEPH COCKRAM to deliver it and see it executed. It must have been a severe blow to the dignified old gentleman, who was one of the first subscribers of the East India Company, a kind of representative of his nation in Japan and an esteemed correspondent of the leading statesmen at home,<sup>§</sup> when he was now addressed in the following most impolite style:<sup>‡</sup>

"Mr. Cox and the rest,

By the "Palsgrave" and the rest of our ships of defence, contrary to our expectation and express commission, instead of your personal appearance in this place, we have received several letters from yourself and the rest, which gives us no satisfaction for the breach of our commission; neither is therein contained any reason of validity to excuse your so great disobedience. What moved you thereunto we know not; but so many years

<sup>o</sup> Ib. vol. III, No. 352.

<sup>§</sup> Some of his letters were even read with great interest by King James I.

<sup>‡</sup> The whole epistle is printed in the Appendix to Cocks' Diary vol. II., p. 340-345.



should have had so much experience as to know what it is to infringe his superior's commission " etc.

But they were kind enough to "suppose" that COCKS (for despite the address he alone is evidently meant) acted "more through ignorance than out of any settled purpose of contempt towards" them, and therefore "they will forbear to censure him at present." They find occasion to comment (certainly not without reason) on COCKS' "simplicity" in believing the stories of his Chinese friend and advancing him money and show so much consideration for his weak memory, that they repeat their command at the end of the letter, "lest having read it in the former part thereof, you should forget it before you come to the end." Goodnaturedly they sign as his "loving friends:"

RICHARD FURSLAND, THOMAS BROCKENDON, AUG. SPALDING.

But harsh and even cruel as the style of this injunction may appear to us, it was perhaps best calculated to intimidate and prevail upon a character like COCKS, who conscious of his good intentions and jealous of his reputation as a kind-hearted and pleasant man was always inclined to enter into arguments on the ground chosen by his opponents. He seems to have been in such low spirits, that he did not even write his view of the situation to the headquarters of the Company. In the first consultation held in the Hirado Factory on July 25th 1623 it was recorded, that COCKS and his companions would "with all willingness obey." As they desired to leave Japan in friendship and facilitate a possible return, they proceeded very slowly and cautiously. Two letters were despatched to Kioto, where the Shogun and the Daimyo of Hirado were then staying, in order to take leave of them. The interpreter of the Factory who was sent as bearer of these messages had orders

first to take the advice of the Daimyo of Hirado and not to deliver the letter to the Shogun if he dissuaded him. But only a week later it was resolved, at the suggestion of the highest authorities of Hirado, to send by RICHARD HUDSON, an assistant in the factory, presents to the Shogun and his principal Councillors. The value of these presents was much smaller than on any former occasion, being only 45 Taels for the Shogun and from 47 to 58 Taels for the highest officials; 268 Taels in all, much less than they had ever given before. This English messenger delivered also the Charter of Privileges of 1616 into the hands of the Daimyo of Hirado, asking him, if possible not to return it to the Admiralty but to keep it for them, in case the Company might wish to reopen its Japan factory. They also did not sell their houses and godowns at Hirado, but left them in trust with the Daimyo until there should be an occasion of using them again for the East India Company. The presents they gave to the mighty persons at Hirado were far more considerable than those distributed in Yedo. The Daimyo alone received gifts to the value of 300 Taels, his brother over 100, the Chief Justices 88, other officers 60 Taels and less, making a total of 774 Taels.†

But now they had also the more unpleasant business of collecting outstanding debts. The Daimyo of Hirado repaid his big loan; but his brother and two other officers made no effort to refund about 1500 Taels they had borrowed, and would not use their judicial authority to force other debtors to pay. By far the largest item of these bad debts was owed by Cocks' old friend, the Captain of the Chinese colony at Hirado,

† Consultations and other writings upon dissolving the English factory of Hirado. Cal. of State Papers vol. III., No. 306 (p. 127-131) Partly printed in Cocks' Diary. Appendix vol. II, p. 340-349.

ANDREA DITTIS. He was now in poor circumstances, and could not pay the 6636 Taels successively advanced to him in consideration of his efforts to procure for the English a free access to the Chinese market. A Japanese merchant, YOSHIMURA SHOJIRO, came next with 3218 Taels, while 15 other debtors figure with sums from 18 to 291 Taels. The whole came to 12821 Taels or about 4000£, sterl. The English merchants left powers of attorney in Japanese with the Dutch Factory, whose President was then CORNELIS VAN NEIJEN-ROODE, to receive after their departure payment from any of their debtors that felt inclined to pay.

The moveable property of the Factory and its merchants was in the meantime taken on board the ship "Bull." On the 22nd December "many of the townsmen came with their wives and families to take leave of the factors, some weeping at their departure. On the 22nd the factors went on board intending to set sail." But the Dutch merchants and many Japanese friends came on board with eatables and drinkables to have a jolly leave taking. As there was not enough room on board for so large a company (over 100) they all went to Kōchiura and spent the day there, postponing their departure to the following day. At noon of the 24th December 1623 the "Bull" set sail for Batavia. The English Factory at Hirado was a thing of the post.

But now two questions suggest themselves: What was the fate of the four merchants who survived their factory and were carried away to Batavia? and: What became of the building at Hirado belonging to the East India Company?

The answer to the first question is a sad story as far as the principal Factor is concerned. The President and Council at

Batavia entered, after the arrival of the "Bull" on January 27th 1624, into an examination of the accounts and doings of the dissolved factory.† They convinced themselves, that the books had not been properly balanced and closed up for the last five years and that the entries had been made "sometimes by one and sometimes by another." Although COCKS declared, that he had left the bookkeeping entirely to OSTERWICK and EATON, he was blamed for "not committing the accounts to the especial charge of anyone in particular." OSTERWICK was now detained to finish the accounts of the late Factory. Then they were indignant, that COCKS had not held regular consultations and observed the "decorum" of official formalities. While he now brought "a store of trash and lumber from Japan," he had formerly, as officers of the former Fleet of Defence testified, not prevented Dutch, English and Japanese sailors from stealing goods belonging to the Company. Moreover, the large amount advanced to the Chinese Captain was not justifiable. All this and his disobedience towards their first order of recall gave them in their opinion a just cause for treating COCKS as an offender, although they acknowledged his honesty in not unduly engaging in private trade, so that his estate amounted to less than 400£, "which is not much considering the long time he has lived in the country." But they wished to treat him "mildly." "Having considered his age and the quality wherein he has lived, and withall weighing the weakness of his body and his testy and wayward disposition, being verily persuaded that if they had dealt harshly with him, as he has deserved, it would be the shortening of his life," they

† Cal. of State papers vol. III, No. 415.

left him to the mercy of the Company, sending him home by "the Anne" and ordering that his goods be seized on arrival in England pending the Company's decision. "This we thought the modestest course to take with a man of his rank and years." COCKS embarked for England on February 24th, but died at sea on the 27th of March 1624. The other three merchants were let off with a reprimand. When, more than two years afterwards, the brother of the deceased, appeared before the Court of the East India Company to claim the seized estate, an attempt was made to frighten him off by a very bad report of "the debauched carriage of his brother and the evil service performed by him at Japan where he . . . had expended 40,000£, never returning anything to the Company but consuming whatsoever came to his hands in wasteful unnecessary expenses."† Probably this passage is the source of the often repeated statement of RUNDALL (p. 169), that "upwards of 40,000£ had been uselessly expended" upon the "total failure" in Japan. We shall afterwards come back to this figure. The money left by COCKS was eventually paid over by the Company to the representative of his family.

The second question; what became of the English real property at Hirado is not so easily answered. Several times it was proposed in London to reoccupy the Factory houses in Japan. Already four years after their abandonment (1627), then again six years and eight years later the thought of reopening the trade with Japan was discussed. But a serious attempt at reaching the country of the Rising Sun was only made 50 years after the dissolution of the Hirado factory.

† The Preface of COCKS' Diary p. XLI-XLII, gives the essence of the available Material in the India Office.

Then (1672) King Charles II. out of hatred against the Dutch Republic concluded an offensive alliance with Louis XIV. for the purpose of destroying the commercial and political power of the Dutch. One of the possible means of hurting the Dutch was to break the monopoly of trade which the Dutch East India Company was then enjoying at Deshima. Two ships, the "Experiment" and the "Return" were fitted out for the purpose and provided with complimentary letters from Charles II. to the Shogun. But the "Experiment" was captured by the Dutch in Banka straits and the whole plan found out from her papers. When the "Return" arrived at Nagasaki on June 29th 1675, the Dutch had already given notice of the war between their republic and the two monarchs, of whom one was a Roman Catholic and the other married to a Roman Catholic princess of Portugal. The English were promptly ordered out of the country.<sup>o</sup> The only Japanese reference relating to the English buildings at Hirado is a passage in *Kozawa Kakitome*† quoted in SUGANUMA's History of the trade of Hirado. It says, that in old books it is mentioned that the English Factory was at *Idokoromachi* † and that there occurs also an *Egeresu Gake* i. e. English wall; ‡‡ but in the time of KOZAWA nobody at Hirado could identify these places or tell where the factory was situated. The only relic of the former foreign settlements still left in its original place is a low wall on the top of a hill a little way out of Hirado town. When the present writer saw it in 1888, it appeared to him as a piece of

<sup>o</sup> For this portion I have used the Dutch Generaal Missive in the Hague.

† 小澤書留.

† 居所町.

‡‡ エグレス崖.

old masonry plastered over and probably used as a garden wall. He has since come across some entries in Cocks' Diary, showing that 1621 a burial place 26 yards square was allowed to the English, that they made at once a contract with a Japanese "to make a stone wall" around it for 80 Taels, and that they paid 50 Taels on account. § I think this old piece of masonry on the hill most likely to be a ruin of the stone wall around the English cemetery at Hirado.

In conclusion we may try to arrive at an estimate of the losses suffered through the Hirado Factory. For the last four years or, more exactly, for the four years ending in January 1624 there is a copy of a balance sheet preserved in the India Office. It shows a clear gain of 14,960 Ryals or 3,700£, although the gifts and presents on the Debit side were extraordinary heavy (nearly 5,000£), and 1,500£ had been spent on the building. † Before that time only five English ships had brought cargoes to Hirado. Firstly "the Clove" the pioneer ship, which had been freighted in England and Bantam with 4,000£, in ready money and merchandize of a value of about 3,000£. Secondly "the Advice" arrived twice with a cargo valued at about 2,334£ altogether. Thirdly the two larger ships, Thomas and Hozeandar, for the cargoes of which we have not been able to find reliable data; but we are certainly not underrating them (as Wickham complained of their little value) in putting down 3,000£ worth for each. Thus we arrive at an importation of altogether 15,334£. Of the exports to

§ *Diary*, vol. II., p. 143, 144.

† In the accounts upon which this calculation is based the rich returns of goods captured by the Fleet of Defence are entirely left aside, the balance being fixed at a total of only 65,727 Ryals, while Cocks sent in 1,622 alone in two ships 150,000 Taels as the proceeds of the English share of the spoils.

Bantam we know only that the "Thomas" and the "Hozeander" took 5,420£ away from Hirado. Crediting the Advice on its two voyages only with 1,000£, we have a sett off amounting altogether to 10,120£. The probable loss caused by the Hirado enterprize would, therefore, stand only at 5,214£. The expenses of the 4 ships journeying from Bantam to Hirado and back are, it is true, not included in this account; but I think 4,000£ would be an ample allowance for the four journies. From the evidence of the records I am therefore driven to the conclusion, that the East India Company cannot have lost more than 10,000£ on its Japan enterprize; probably far less, for as we have seen, the Factory disbursed 18682 Ryals in 1617 and an enormous amonnt in 1621 on the ships. Only the returns did not reach England as those of the other factories did, but were bartered away at Bantam, Patani and in India. The enormous figure of 40,000£ as an estimate of the loss suffered in Japan, I am inclined to trace back to the knowledge of some officers of the Company in London, that the sum of 4,000£ in ready money was sent out by the "Clove" and never repaid, and on the multiplication of this amount with ten, when there was an inducement to lay stress on the heavy losses suffered in Japan during the ten years existence of the Factory at Hirado.

Certainly the establishment of the East India Company in Japan was a failure. But not on account of the conditions of trade in this country; in the beginning of the very year, in which the English Factory was dissolved, the Dutch President COEN calculated, that "in one voyage to Japan above 75% may be gained; sufficient to buy up all the returns needful for Europe."† Nor was the mismanagement by SARIS and COCKS

† COEN's instructions left in the Indies with PETER DE CARPENTIER,



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greatly responsible for the failure. The real cause of it was the material weakness of the English in all stations of trade beyond the Straits of Sumatra and the want of connexions with Japan in consequence thereof. Immediately after the dissolution of the Hirado Factory the English East India Company was compelled to withdraw from all commercially important places in the Far East and give place to its more powerful Dutch rival.

Governor General, and the Council of the Indies (January 31st, 1623).  
Cal. of State Papers III., No. 243, p. 97-101.



## INSTRUCTIONS OF A MITO PRINCE TO HIS RETAINERS.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

[Read Dec. 21, 1898.]

Mitsukuni, the second Tokugawa Prince of Mito, was born in 1628, assumed the government of the clan in 1661, retired in 1690, and died in 1700. He was commonly known in his day as Mito Kōmon, or Mito Chūnagon,<sup>o</sup> because he held office as one of the Advisory Council of the Shōgun; in fact he was considered a sort of Vice-Shōgun, and after death was honored with the title Gikō ("Righteous Prince"). In the government of his clan, he adopted "a wise and kind policy," and was highly esteemed by his cotemporaries, especially for his learning and patriotism. He was himself a scholar and the patron of scholars, so that he has been aptly called the "Japanese Maecenas." His literary labors, carried on with the assistance of Shu Shunsui, one of the Chinese scholars who fled to Japan from their native land on the overthrow of the Ming dynasty by the Tartars, were very extensive and important. Most famous of all, of course, is the *Dai Nihon Shi*, a standard work on the history of Japan. For further information concerning Mitsukuni and his works, I beg leave to refer to my papers on "The Tokugawa Princes of Mito,"† "The Mito Civil War"‡ and "Chinese Refugees of the Seventeenth Century in Mito"§ in the Transactions of this Society.

<sup>o</sup> See Note I.

† Vol. XVIII. Part I. ‡ Vol. XIX. Part II. § Vol. XXIV.

One of his smaller productions was a little pamphlet entitled "Gikō Meirei" (Gikō's Instructions') or, more fully, "The Instructions of Mitsukuni, Mito Kōmon, to his Retainers." A copy of this was presented to me during my residence in Mito, and seemed to be worth reproducing in English. It is true, of course, that such instructions were commonly issued by the princes during the feudal period, and may, perhaps, be picked up without much difficulty. But probably no better one can be obtained from any other source as merely a sample of such documents; and Mitsukuni's reputation as a prince and as a scholar seemed to be a guarantee that his instructions would be different from those of other princes. I take great pleasure, therefore, in submitting the following as the gist of his official instructions, probably given orally to his retainers and afterwards published in pamphlet form [See Note II]:—

#### PREFACE.

The reason why I now propose to offer my humble opinion in detail as to what I think we must bear in mind is, that both you and I, together, developing in righteousness and correcting evils, may not be ashamed to be compared with the honorable lords and retainers of ancient times, and may make ourselves well qualified to be referred to in the future, by way of illustration, as ideal lord and retainers.<sup>o</sup> I ask you to appreciate my inmost heart and give me your opinions and counsel in all things and on all occasions. In ancient times sagacious princes invited the remonstrances of their retainers. How much more reason is there that I, who, without any merit, became prince

<sup>o</sup> See Note III.

through the accumulated virtues of my ancestors, be anxious morning and evening lest I should act contrary to your wishes and violate the principles which should govern the conduct of a prince. I beg, therefore, that you will kindly inform me without reserve of anything which is not right in my private conduct and in all matters pertaining to the administration of my province. Among such matters the government of the province is one which concerns the people,<sup>°</sup> however trivial the question at issue may be. Therefore, as small matters even are of importance, I am bound to receive your instructions on the subject. You should not act in this matter with reserve. I fear, however, that you may be actuated by the feeling that what you say would offend me. And you may shrink from repeating your warnings, because I have shown myself to be so unworthy as to become angry at a sharp remonstrance directed against my private misdemeanors. Should such a feeling ever arise on my part, it will be only momentary, for I affirm with bow and arrow<sup>‡</sup> that my real desire is what I am now expressing to you. Therefore, as I have no wish to conceal any thing from other persons, I implore you to remonstrate with me, without regard to my feelings, about any thing, no matter what it may be, which you may see or may hear or which others may tell you. Whether it be true or false does not matter. If it be, for instance, that I am too much inclined, even in a slight degree, to amusements or to wilfulness; that I am too fond of women; that there is too much extravagance in my household; that I am haughty on account of my position or ability; that I do not heed advice; that I am unjust in the be-

<sup>°</sup> See Note IV.<sup>‡</sup> An oath used by *samurai*.

stowal of rewards and punishments;° that I keep worthy retainers at a distance and encourage flatterers;§ that I neglect learning and military preparation; that I have no sympathy with my retainers and the peasants; that I have a passion for useless articles; that I squander money; that I devote myself too much to building; that I forget what I owe to my position: these and many other things which may occur to you, all call for remonstrance. With reference to such things, you may place your views before me, when we meet, either orally or in writing. If it is a matter not to be made public, you may send me a confidential letter, which, of course, no one else will be allowed to read or to delay in delivering to me.

#### SECTION I.

All my retainers, high or low, should pay due attention to learning, which is nothing else than knowing the Way in which men should walk. It is needless to say that we must, consider learning absolutely necessary above all things; but, to my great regret, some regard it as of secondary importance; and are apt to neglect it. It is a still greater regret to hear that some of the so-called learned are far inferior to the unlearned. Such a miserable state of affairs simply results from pride in the little knowledge attained through so-called learning.°° The motive held by such low-minded persons in getting learning is simply to escape the contempt naturally bestowed upon the unlettered. Thus, when they attain to some literary knowledge, they are apt soon to become proud and to show contempt to others. Though such fellows, knowing something

° See Note V.

§ See Note VI.

°° "A little learning is a dangerous thing."

and having some accomplishments, are apparently gentlemen, they are no better than rascals, having no idea of "humanity" (*jingi*). It is no wonder, therefore, that the services performed by some so-called unlearned men are much more valuable than those of such pedants.

There is another class of retainers who spend the best part of their time in reading books or writing verses for amusement only. It is quite useless to spend time in this way. What I mean by "learning" is something far different from that. It is, as I have just said, the Way in which we should walk, or the principle by which we should guide our daily conduct. This Way we must thoroughly understand and carry into practice. Without this, mankind is little better than the birds of the air and the beasts of the field. This is the reason why I advise you to regard it as of greater moment than to secure food, raiment and the other necessities of life. As to the way of self-culture (*shugyō*), I should say that we must devote ourselves to meditation and carefully consider whether or not our minds are inclined towards righteousness, and whether or not our behavior is correct. And thus we must do our very best to make our hearts right and our behavior as perfect as possible. This is the very Way which leads to the position enjoyed by those ancient well-known wise men (*kenjin*), or gentlemen (*kunshi*), or even to that monopolized by sages<sup>o</sup> (*seijin*). Briefly speaking, such and nothing else should be considered learning.

Then, should you read books, you would better begin with such works as "Shōgaku," "Shisho" and "Kinshiroku,"

<sup>o</sup> Perhaps especially Confucius.

and, if possible, go as far as "Gokyō."<sup>o</sup> If you study these books hard, not missing one phrase or even one character, and try to apply the teachings practically in your life, that would be "learning" in its true sense. For a man of over 40 years of age, those three works named above would be sufficient, as he would not be so energetic as a youth; but, in case he has strength, further study is, of course, recommended. Those who are of advanced age, (between 60 or 70 and 80 or 90), are generally very feeble, and therefore the perusal of "Daigaku" and "Rongo," or simply "Daigaku," would be enough. As for the rest, they may as well learn by listening to their well-informed friends, as "learning" does not necessarily mean simply literary study.

It, therefore, we understand this Way, even for only a single day just at death's door, our life is not all a failure. No matter if one lives for 100 years, his life is by no means a success unless he understands this Way. You, my retainers of ambition, are earnestly requested, therefore, to be diligent and attentive, especially to this matter of learning.

#### SECTION II.

My retainers, be always ready to discharge your filial duties to your beloved parents, to love your brothers and sisters, and to be kind to your relatives, however remote. To friends be a true companion, not keeping in your heart the least deception, and to servants ever be a benevolent master. Don't forget these things, as they are very important. You know that these duties are minutely taught in the books of the sages; therefore, I hardly think it necessary to say much about them.

<sup>o</sup> See Note VII.

## SECTION III.

All my retainers should highly prize fidelity (*setsugi*) No word should be uttered or deed performed in a way unsuitable to the way of an honorable *samurai*. To prize fidelity is nothing else than not to utter falsehoods, not to be selfish, not to run counter to proper etiquette, not to flatter a superior or to look upon an inferior with contempt, not to break a promise, not to look indifferently upon the distress of others, not to use vulgar language or to slander others. In short, one who truly prizes fidelity, ought to know the real meaning of shame, and should, even at the risk of his neck, refrain from doing those things which he ought not to do. While, at the hour of death, he must not retreat one step, but must prize *giri*, and his heart must be firm as iron and stone; yet he must also be a man of gentleness and mercy. Such we call a *samurai* of fidelity. But, if any one spends his time without self-culture in this line, his life, as an ancient writer has said, is one of intoxication and dreams.

## SECTION IV.

If a *samurai*, as I have just said, prizes fidelity and his heart is sincere, he has already every thing that is absolutely necessary as the qualification of a gentleman; for his lack of tact, of wit in conversation or of refinement in manner can work no harm or injury. I can not help, however, noting here, that so called *samurai* of the present day are generally very clever and skilful in social intercourse, having a very refined manner in all their conduct; while, to my great sorrow, they are not a bit true to themselves or to others. Such men, being naturally proud, slight others who are honest and dub



them "novices." Of such mean fellows, some are quite calm and polite in manner, never showing any sign of inward falsehood; while those of less skill are apt to betray themselves. But whichever it be, both of them belong to one and the same class. Though these persons appear wise, kind and brave, yet they are sure, whenever a great emergency presents itself, to avoid danger simply for the sake of their personal safety. They may be sincere, so far as their own interest is concerned; but, to tell the truth, they are so lewd and faithless, that they have no idea of fidelity; they are only sycophants. In consequence, we can never depend upon them although they may apparently be as brave as Mōfun (孟賁) and as wise as Shūkō (周公)<sup>o</sup> were. Are there any such persons among my retainers? If there are, it is they who hinder the better management of affairs under my rule.

There is another class of good-for-nothing fellows, whom the people ironically call *kekko-jin* ("fine fellows"). They are generally effeminate in constitution and character; they are strangers both to wisdom and etiquette; by word and deed they show their dislike for virtue; and they spend their time in drinking and debauchery. Still they are not, in one sense, so detestable as the others, those hypocrites, are, for the reason that they openly behave as worthless men do without any attempt to conceal. But the abominable results of the conduct of both these two classes are evidently the same. Be careful, my retainers, to resemble neither of them.

#### SECTION V.

All my retainers should not forget "politeness and

<sup>o</sup> Chinese models of bravery and wisdom.

humility" (*reijō*). The celebrated Bunnō§ was always polite to the men and women of the lower class, even to a poor widow or an orphan. He used to hold in his hands the government of almost two thirds of the world,<sup>o</sup> and was himself a sage. If such a man of power and wisdom was so polite, then there is much more reason for such as ourselves to be very polite. There is really no difference between *samurai*. There exists, it is true, as an accident, a difference of station in human society. But to make light of others by availing yourself of your own honorable position is utterly offensive. Whenever, for instance, you attend a meeting, be polite enough to give your fellow-retainers better seats.† Though your rank may be far superior to that of him who happens to meet you at the entrance, it is not at all proper for you to hasten in a haughty manner to get the most honorable seat, without trying first to persuade him to take it. When two persons meet on a narrow road, each should show deference to the other; and a man of rank followed by a retinue of servants should not make his way without caring about the inconvenience of others. In such a case, if the superior takes special care to show condescension, it is, in my opinion, an excellent thing. I say this to all my retainers, especially to those of the highest rank and to the *Karō* (Ministers).

## SECTION VI.

I am told that there is a serious defect prevalent among *samurai* at present,—the lack of simplicity (*shitsuboku*). They have a passion for vanity and are prodigal in every thing. This causes them to assume an arrogant demeanor especially

§ A Chinese Prince. (文王)  
China.

† Cf. Luke 14: 7-11.

towards their inferiors. Such persons, having no real qualifications, are like well-dressed dolls. I can not but pity them, for they are struggling on with strenuous efforts, but in vain, for the purpose of being taken for dignified personages. I should not speak of them if their conduct were in conformity with the spirit of the seven rules of etiquette.\* My earnest desire to the *samurai* is that they should condescend even to a lower style of living than that allowed to their social position, and be easy and simple, without any formality.

I hear that Shūkō was always ready to welcome any *samurai*, no matter how humble in rank. He would willingly receive and talk with such visitors, even while eating or washing his hair. He was, you know, the Emperor Seiwō's (成王) uncle, and, in fact, the regent of that great empire; yet he was so easy-going, plain and simple a man. When, therefore, those dignity-loving men hear this, they ought, if sensible enough, to be fully ashamed. "Frogs in a well" is truly a suitable appellation for them because of their ignorance of the world. If you peruse the pages of Japanese or Chinese history, you are sure not to find a single example of self-conceited conduct on the part of those who are well-acquainted with "humanity." Be easy, my retainers with all with whom you come in contact.

#### SECTION VII.

When Shiyū (子游), one of the best of the disciples of Confucius, became the prime-minister of Bajō (武城), his teacher asked him if he was successful in getting good officials. "Yes," he replied, "I was happy to get a good man, by name Metsumeï (滅明), who would not take any side-path, though

\* What are they?

much shorter, but would always prefer the high-road.<sup>o</sup> He would never pay me a visit, unless he had some public message to deliver." Well, this may seem like a trifling matter; but it evidently shows that Metsumei was not only a broad-minded man, but also no flatterer with mind fully occupied by thoughts of himself. Such an honest man, however, would be regarded in this age of ours as a stupid fellow. I am afraid that those who are at present enjoying an influential position are not much pleased to receive their inferiors, unless they pay respect even to the degree of superfluity. Taking this into consideration, we can not help admiring Shiyū, who well deserved the name of a worthy disciple of the great teacher. His candid mind is clearly proved by this trifling matter. By such candor of mind, a ruler should know the true ability and character of his officials. Indeed, this touching story connected with Shiyū's behavior is well worth remembering. Whenever I am reading "Rongo" and come to this account, I can not refrain from being deeply touched. My retainers, therefore, of the highest rank should make a model<sup>oo</sup> of Shiyū, and the others, of Metsumei.

I should again advise my gentlemen of the highest rank to the effect that, when you appoint or oversee officials in my behalf, you should be careful to avoid a prejudiced behavior on your part. Think only of their character and daily life and treat them with the utmost impartiality, giving strangers the same consideration as relatives or friends. Any one who acts contrary to this principle, I shall not hesitate to put under discipline.

<sup>o</sup> In other words, he always pursued a straight-forward policy.  
<sup>oo</sup> Lit. "mirror."

## SECTION VIII.

I am informed to my great disappointment, that in social meetings retainers, both hosts and guests, are generally very rough from the point of view of etiquette, by laughing loud at nonsense, chattering too much with one another, or reproaching others without any satisfactory reason. Some, I am told, even become violently intoxicated, indulge in lewd talk, or are tempted to send for a *samisen*, that they may sing [love] songs.† This is exactly like a meeting of servants or coolies. The social intercourse of *samurai* must be conducted in strict accordance with etiquette. We may, of course, cheerfully talk with one another in such a social gathering; but the subjects should be instructive, such as have reference to the ancients. You must surely make yourselves at home at the meeting of intimate friends, but must thoroughly understand the difference between politeness and rudeness.

## SECTION IX.

You should not neglect military preparations. To provide men, horses and proper equipments according to your respective ranks, and also to practice archery, horsemanship, fencing and the use of spears, are quite necessary. By this remark, however, I do not mean to have you devote yourselves to these arts to the neglect of all other things. On the contrary, in my opinion, ordinary attention and practical skill to a moderate degree are serviceable enough, and no more is necessary. As to military tactics, however, I should like to have you pay special attention thereto. And I also remind you not to forget the private watch-words, of which you have been previously informed, and which are to be given in the field.

† See Note VIII.

## SECTION X.

Not to forget military preparation is a prudence we should appreciate in the time of peace. It is hardly necessary to say that caution is necessary even in such a time. Therefore, while I learn with pleasure of your being duly attentive in this line, it seems to me strange enough to hear that some are so impetuous as to take up their weapons without thought or any special cause. A superficial courage of this kind only serves to give a self-evident proof of inward disturbance and of cowardice. The caution necessary to the *samurai* lies, not in action, but in heart. Hence, the true *samurai* is gentle in word and deed, can not be moved by such small matters, and always shows the virtue of patience by his usual composure. To meet death with mere physical courage is an easy thing often performed by men of the lowest class. To die, therefore, in this way is not suitable for a *samurai*. When it becomes necessary to die, the true *samurai* should meet death in a spirit even more calm and composed than ordinary. That is the distinction between a *samurai* and a coolie. Be careful, then, to attend to military preparations, but not to become impetuous in behavior.

## SECTION XI.

As to the funeral rites to be observed on the death of parents, wives, children, brothers, sisters or near relatives, the ancient sages have been careful to draw up some ceremonies for us. These, however, will be found somewhat difficult to put into practice suddenly. For the present, you must remember that cremation is strictly forbidden<sup>§</sup> and that burial in the ground must be employed. As to the other points you may do

§ See Note IX.

well to ask a priest (Buddhist) to attend on the occasion.† Any one who acts contrary to this rule [about cremation] is sure to be punished.

## SECTION XII.

In the time of the sages, the period of mourning observed on the death of a parent was three years, and for other relatives certain periods were fixed. True, I should be pleased if my retainers could observe such well-established rules; but, owing to some inconveniences unavoidable under the circumstances, we have no resource than to wait for the time when we can observe them without any difficulty. If, nevertheless, there should be any one who wishes to act in strict conformity to those ancient and honorable rules, I could not help admiring him.

But in ordinary cases you are requested to observe fifty days as the period of mourning for parents and a certain number of days for other relatives according to the general regulations. Your special attention is invited to this rule; and consequently, whenever I receive any bad report of conduct unsuitable for a *samurai* at such a solemn period, I shall apply disciplinary measures to him without any hesitation.

In ancient times the manner of mourning was to shut one's self in-doors, weep bitterly, not to drink any liquor or to enter the women's private apartments, and, moreover, to transact all business in strict composure. The ancient regard mourning for parents as the greatest matter in life. This is because we are bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh; and this relation should naturally make us love them more than

† See Note XIV.

self. If we think properly of the unbounded affection and kindness with which our parents have brought us up in their laps from the very cradle, and have cared for us all day and night,\* we shall find their hearts higher than Taizan(泰山)† and deeper than the blue sea. Then it is quite natural for us, when our parents breathe their last, to feel heart-rending sorrow. Not only are we in trouble at the time of their death; but it is also quite natural gratefully to preserve their memory in our hearts even after the lapse of months or years, nay throughout life.

Such, however, is not the case with the *samurai* of the present time. They may truly be in sorrow for a few days, but are apt very soon to forget the dead; and some are even so cold-hearted that they lead a loose life in the course of those few fifty days, as if it was too long a period. They even regard one as womanish or childish who gives vent to great lamentation over the loss of his parents. This is unfortunate.

We know that the friendship shown by bosom friends is truly invaluable. Still nothing can be more touching than parental affection, which can not be mentioned on the same day ° with the former. Indeed, the favours which we have received from our parents are too numerous to be repaid. It is, therefore, a matter of course that we feel great grief, almost unbearable, in our hearts. Accordingly, it is unnecessary to discuss whether or not mourning is of any service to the dead.

There is another class of cold-hearted thinkers who opine that, as the *samurai* ought to be brave enough to forget their

\* Lit. "for twice six hours" (of 120 minutes each).

† A very high mountain in China.

° "In the same breath."



parents or family in the field,\* they should not be so weak-minded in time of peace. This is only a superficial argument. Every body is well aware that one who is ungrateful towards parents is also ignorant of a master's favors, even of humanity itself, and naturally is not an honorable *samurai*. I can not rely upon such persons, for only a tender-hearted man makes a truly brave knight.

Brothers and sisters, who have grown up daily side by side from babyhood with us, and relations should, of course, be duly mourned.

It is a shame, and proves without doubt our falseness of heart, if we are unaffected in the face of such serious occurrences [as the death of parents, brothers, sisters and other relations].

### SECTION XIII.

In case a transgressor of the law happens to be found in your family, or among your relations or intimate friends, you are not advised to make yourselves informers. Any one, however, who purposely shelters a well-proven criminal in his house, will be immediately punished. If, moreover, you have detected some one who is trying to plot treason or to incite civil war, you are strictly requested to inform me without the least hesitation. If this, however, were the case with your father, you are not recommended to become informer, for so doing would be a breach of *giri*. As both filial piety and loyalty (fealty) are important, I leave such cases entirely to your discretion; you may choose the way that seems best under all circumstances. To tell the truth, if you inform me as soon

\* See Note X.

as you find a transgressor, regardless of blood-relationship, it would be extremely convenient for the transaction of justice. But at the same time I highly appreciate the tender feelings kept in the bottom of your hearts toward your relations. "*Giri*" is the motto according to which we ought to act. You need not, therefore, pay too much attention to my convenience; but act, guided only by your sound conscience.

## SECTION XIV.

A very plain supper,† as you have previously been informed, will do at your social gatherings. This is not too vulgar. Meetings of this kind are held to make friendship warmer and to exchange opinions. Entertainment does not necessarily mean nice liquor or delicious food, but it means rather a warm reception and kind treatment. Now-a-days, you generally send out for rare dishes and spare nothing in securing everything serviceable for the amusement of guests, and, in so doing, waste a great deal of time as well. I can hardly understand the advantage of this.

Hōjō Tokiyori, one night, sent a servant with an invitation to Taira Nobutoki. As the latter, in spite of having readily accepted the invitation, did not come, the former sent the servant again to say that, as it was late at night, it was unnecessary to put on a *hitadare* (a ceremonial robe, worn by nobles only). To tell the truth, it was because Nobutoki had not found that robe that he did not dare to leave his house. But, being thus sent for twice, he hastened to the residence of Tokiyori, whom he met coming to the reception-room with a jug (*choshi*) and saucers in his hands. Seeing Nobu-

† Lit, "one (kind of) soup and one side-dish."

toki, he said cheerily: "To drink this *sake* by myself is not at all pleasant; therefore, I asked the special favor that you give me the pleasure of your company. As every one of my household has gone to bed, there is nothing eatable at hand; but friend, please make yourself at home." After speaking thus, he found and brought out from the kitchen an earthen vessel in which *miso* was kept. And then he said, smiling: "This is enough for you and me." The guest, being satisfied with this simply but brotherly treatment, fully enjoyed the evening. This interesting account may seen in the well-known work, "Tsure-zure-gusa" of the famous author, Yoshida Kenkō.

At that time Tokiyori was the chief official in the government of the Kamakura Shōgun; in fact, the authority over the whole country was held in his hands. Who would expect such ease and simplicity from a man in his station? It is really a wonder. We have no words with which to express our admiration. Even in foreign countries, I am sure, we can hardly find a parallel.†

To drink *sake* with only *miso* on the table is some thing not to be done even by a coolie in our day, much less so by a man of a little fortune or honor. Isn't it nevertheless, real friendship for a man to send for his friend to have him share the enjoyment, even though nothing but *sake* and *miso* happened to be on the table? No wonder Nobutoki was in good humor with his host.

Whenever you entertain your friends, or make a present to them, you would better do that in the simplest manner possible, just as if you happened to think of it only a moment before. True friendly feeling can never fail to be seen in the

† An illustration of Oriental conceit.

bottom of such conduct, while coldness can not but be seen whenever much show is made. True friendship is maintained only by mutual politeness and intimacy. You see, even late at night, Nobutoki was not so rude as to forget his ceremonial robe ; and on the other hand the host was so kind that he sent a message for the second time to ask him to come in ordinary clothes. From this nice story, we can easily judge how polite the *samurai* of that time were to each other. What dishes could be rarer than those conveyed by the very hand of this distinguished host ? What manner could be more simple and graceful than that of this honorable guest who, in his dress suit (which by-the-by, he found before leaving home), licked *miso* off that earthenware dish ? And who could be more tender-hearted than the master, who, though a man of so great authority, did not try to wake the servants ? This is the Way we should follow ; no other way is recommended in the social intercourse of *samurai*.

## SECTION XV.

As for military equipments, including harnesses, spears, swords and other things, be careful enough to keep them for practical use, not for ornament : therefore, elaborate decoration is by no means necessary. As to uniforms, the same view should be taken : no expensive stuffs should be recommended. But the styles of cut, according to your respective ranks, should be observed, as is mentioned in another document.†

## SECTION XVI.

Some are inclined to pay too much attention to your

† What document ?

house. It is quite sufficient if it be comfortable enough, even though not grand. If it is built so as to give protection from rain and wind, that is good enough to live in. By this, however, I do not necessarily mean a small house; the dimensions of your residences should be in due proportion to your respective ranks. With reference, indeed, to *ishokujū*,† I should say that you ought to provide only the necessities of every day use, but should include also military equipments in that category. As to other things, unless they are absolutely necessary, I see no reason why you should keep them in your houses. I know that lots of expensive *kakemono* (either pictures or compositions), tea caddies, cups and other things are found in some families. A few, indeed, may be of some use from the social point of view; but to keep a great number of them is quite foolish. I affirm, then, that for him who does not care much for such things, I have great admiration.

#### SECTION XVII.

Be so economical as to keep your household in good order. Spend in due proportion to your income or circumstances. At the same time, if you find a relative or acquaintance struggling along under pecuniary difficulties, hasten to help him. If you should become poor yourselves on account of such benevolent measures, I should the more appreciate your noble character. On the other hand, those who are entirely indifferent to such charitable work, I should regard as mean fellows, utterly ignorant of the proper duties of a *samurai*.\* On my part, I shall try and do my best to assist either those respectable gentlemen who have spared nothing and become poor on account of such philan-

† Clothes, food and dwelling.

\* See Note XI.

throphic deeds, or those who are struggling on under pecuniary difficulties arising from unexpected misfortune. Here I take the opportunity especially to request my retainers of higher rank to let me know whenever any such cases happen to occur. Delay of such information would cause me great displeasure.

## SECTION XVIII.

From ancient times the people have been divided into four classes : *Shi* (士), *Nō* (農), *Kō* (工) and *Shō* (商). Each class has its own business.† Those belonging to the *Nō* class are devoting themselves to agriculture ; those of the *Kō* class are promoting industry ; while those of the *Shō* class are engaged in trade. All of these three classes have something to contribute towards benefiting human society.

What, then, is the use of the *Shi*, or *samurai*, class ? Its only business is to preserve, or maintain, *giri*. The people of the other classes deal with visible things, while the *samurai* deal with invisible, colorless and unsubstantial things. As these two divisions are so far different from each other, some may think that the members of the *Shi* class entirely unnecessary. But if there were no *samurai*, right (*giri*) would disappear from human society, the sense of shame would be lost, and wrong and injustice would prevail. In that case, a faithful subject, a dutiful son, or a trustworthy friend, would seldom be found, and such shameful acts as cheating or stealing would be a daily occurrence. In short, the whole country would be thrown into great confusion, unless it be checked beforehand by the *samurai*. This is the chief reason why they are placed above other people, and also why the latter are pleased to pay them great respect,

† See Note XII.

in spite of their having apparently no substantial work as daily business.\*

Let us, then, consider for a while how the *samurai* of the present day are behaving. Some, they say, are given up to avarice, and sometimes are prone to take things unreasonably from innocent merchants by using august airs and threats. Some, it is said, like rank. Some, pretending to be fond of furniture, try to trade in it with the view of making a profit, just like commission merchants. Such as these are all too ignoble to be discussed here at length. But, generally speaking, they think first of their own will and pay no attention to that of others. Such selfish men are generally very clever in understanding their own interests, but very stupid in pursuing a right course. To go straight on regardless of one's own interest, whatever may be the final result, is the path in which the *samurai* should walk. Those who are wise in *giri* are foolish in avarice, and those who are foolish in avarice are wise in *giri*.

I do hope that all my retainers may be unselfish and manly. And, when I bear in mind your ample yearly allowance of rice, this hope on my part seems not unreasonable. I can not at all understand why some *samurai*, in spite of their being gentlemen of the exalted class, giving up study and breaking their bows and arrows, take part, even without scales and other necessary appliances, in mercantile business.

When Kōgikyū (公儀休) was the highest official in the time of the Ro dynasty,\* he happened to find vegetables of his

\* See Note XIII.

\* The era in which Confucius lived.

own garden quite nice in taste and thereupon rooted them all up at once. Again, when he found the linen woven by his own maid-servant as good as that sold by merchants, he dismissed her and destroyed the loom. His reason was this: if the materials for food and clothing were raised on the premises of a gentleman of the professional class, how could those of the business class live? By this remark he meant, that the salaried *samurai* should not compete with the common people in pursuit of gain. Now, my retainers, you are paid to your satisfaction in accordance with your position, and, moreover, both farmers and business men are strictly enjoined to respect and obey you. The only thing left, therefore, to you is to be honest and sincere and to be well-deserving of the name of an example to the other classes. Don't forget the real motive with which Kōgikyū was accustomed to act in every matter.

Avarice,† however, is not necessarily limited to money matters, but includes all such acts as asking a special favour in an unreasonable way, or any behavior which is unbecoming a gentleman; for all these things are sure to tend toward selfishness. Some may think that, if the heart is right, the act is right; and that, in the case of two persons performing the same action, one may be right and the other may be wrong, according to their motives. It is true that, while the action still remains in the shape of a motive the difference may be very slight, only one *rin* [one-hundredth of an inch]; but in the final results, there may be a difference of a thousand *ri* [2,500 miles]. The distinction, for instance, between *kunshi* (gentleman) and *shōjin* (small man, or mean fellow), between

† *Riyoku* (利慾).



ō (king) and *ha* (usurper), between *chi* (order) and *ran* (tumult), may arise from only a slight difference in the heart, but finally develops into a vast difference.

But with reference to the question of right (*giri*), our sages have already delivered long lectures for our instruction. The perusal of their worthy books and your persevering efforts to act in strict compliance with their teaching, I earnestly request of you all. Now I have no further instructions to give.

I had at first imagined that, as Mitsukuni was a grandson of Iyeyasu, there would be some connection between these "Instructions" and the so-called "Legacy of Iyeyasu"; but I have failed to find any relation. There are some points of comparison, the most important of which are shown in notes which follow; and in some points the Mito Prince has reached a higher standard than the author of the "Legacy." The latter document, even though it be spurious, as some scholars claim, is yet acknowledged to set forth the policy of Iyeyasu, and is, therefore, not entirely without value for purposes of comparison.\*

The influence of the Chinese refugee scholars upon the Mito school of thought is not so clearly traceable in this pamphlet as in other writings of Mitsukuni. The *Dai Nihon Shi*, for instance, is said to have been written "in a different fashion," but yet, 'in the same spirit' as Shushi's *Tsugan Kōmoku*. The Mito scholars generally "wrote in Chinese in spite of their being exceedingly national and patriotic, and their philosophy was

\* See Vol. III, Part II, pp. 131-142 of these Transactions.

essentially that of Shushi." It was in fact by the scholars of the Mito clan that the "union of Chinese philosophy with Shintō teaching" was most successfully carried out.

## NOTE I.

It was on the fourteenth day of the tenth month, in the third year of Genroku (1690), that Prince Mitsukuni became 63 years of age. On the following day he retired from active service and was honored by the Shōgun with appointment to the position of Gon-Chūnagon. With reference to this promotion, he wrote the following poem:—

Kurai-yama  
Noboru mo kurushi  
Oi no mi wa ;  
Fumoto no sato ni  
Sumi yokari keri.

"The ascent of the mount of rank is difficult for such an aged person ; it is better to dwell in the village at the base." There is probably a pun in the expression "Kurai-yama," which may mean also "dark mount," and would then refer to the unforeseen future. Prince Mitsukuni was certainly not an ambitious man, and at that advanced age might well dread promotion to a responsible position at the court of the Shōgun. Being a scholarly man, he much preferred retirement from active, public life in the quiet and beauty of Nishiyama.

## NOTE II.

In the preparation of this paper, I have been under great obligations to Mr. Motozumi Ōkura for his free translation and valuable expositions of the original pamphlet.

## NOTE III.

On this point the "Legacy of Iyeyasu"\* contains the following instructions in Chap. LXXI:—From of old the harmony between lord and vassal has been likened to that existing between water and fish. Ought it not to be so? It is, indeed, no difficult thing! If the golden rule, "Do not unto others that which you would not have others do to you," be so firmly grasped in the heart as not to be lost sight of for a moment, the force of example will induce inferiors to conform to this virtuous teaching; and not only immediate attendants, but the population at large, will naturally flow smoothly along as water to its outlet.

## NOTE IV.

The opinion of Iyeyasu, as expressed in Chap. XV of his "Legacy" is as follows:—In my youth, my sole aim was to conquer and subjugate inimical provinces, and to take revenge upon the enemies of my ancestors. Yuyō teaches, however, that "to assist the people is to give peace to the Empire;" and since I have come to understand that the precept is founded on sound principle, I have undeviatingly followed it. Let my posterity hold fast this principle. Any one turning his back upon it is no descendant of mine.

The People are the foundation of the Empire.

## NOTE V.

Iyeyasu says in Chap. XCIX of the "Legacy":—When rewards and punishments are not properly administered, faithful servants are hidden and not made manifest: when they are properly regulated, all mankind esteem the one and dread the other. There should not be the difference of the slightest par-

\* This and the following quotations from the "Legacy of Iyeyasu" are taken from Mr. J. F. Lowder's translation.

ticle of dust either in excess or insufficiency ; but they should be administered with self-possession and after deep reflection.

## NOTE VI.

Iyeyasu's "Legacy," Chap LXXXV, contains the following on this subject :—Among the many employés there will be some who flatter, adulate, and endeavour to bribe influential men having authority :—again there will be others, true men, who evince a grave and decorous respect toward their superiors. The faithful and unfaithful are clearly apparent among these, and ignorance in distinguishing between them tends to degeneracy in the Government. Much reflection and grave consideration is requisite ; also a liberality in punishment and reward.

## NOTE VII.

Shisho ("Four Book") included Daigaku, Chūyō, Rongo and Mōshi. Kinshiroku (近思錄) is a commentary on Chinese philosophy by Shushi. Gokyō ("Five Classics") included Ekikyō (易經), a treatise on chances or changes ; Shokyō (書經), a treatise on moral and religious topics ; Shikyō (詩經), a treatise on poetry ; Shunjū (春秋), an historical work ; and Raiki (禮記), a treatise on etiquette. Shōgaku and Daigaku, meaning respectively "Little Learning" and "Great Learning ;" Rongo, the Analects of Confucius ; and Mōshi (Mencius) are well-known. Chūyō is a treatise on "the mean."

## NOTE VIII.

Iyeyasu's advice on this subject, as given in Chap. XXV of his "Legacy" is different : Although singing and instrumental music are not the calling of the military class, at turns

they expand the spirits and relieve depression, and are delightful recreations in the joyfulness of great peace.

## NOTE IX.

On the subject of cremation in Japan, see pp. 522, 523, 542, 543 of Mr. Lay's valuable paper on "Japanese Funeral Rites," in Vol. XIX, Part 3, of these "Transactions."

## NOTE X.

This is presumably a reference to the fact that many *samurai* laying aside all thoughts of parents or family, loyally sacrifice even their lives for their lords. There was often a conflict between fealty and filial piety; as when, for instance, an only son would owe a duty both to his parents and to his lord. If he should lose his life by loyal service to his prince, he would be unfilial, because his parents would thereby lose the heir of the family. Absolute filial piety might be disloyalty; and *vice versa*.

## NOTE XI.

Iyeyasu's recommendation of philanthropy, in Chap. II of the "Legacy," is brief but strong: Show special commiseration for the widower, the widow, the orphan, and the lone; for this is the foundation of charitable government.

## NOTE XII.

Iyeyasu says in Chap. LXXXIX of his "Legacy":—When the four classes neglect their several avocations, they are reduced to hunger and cold, and eventually commence to break the laws, and vex and disturb mankind. These are serious crimes and should be distinguished as capitally punishable.

NOTE XIII.

“Legacy of Iyeyasu,” Chap. XLV :—The *samurai* are masters of the four classes. Agriculturalists, artizans and merchants may not behave in a rude manner towards *samurai*. The term for a rude man is “other than expected fellow ;” and a *samurai* is not to be interfered with in cutting down a fellow who has behaved to him in a manner other than is expected.

NOTE XIV.

As I once had the opportunity of attending in Mito a funeral conducted under Buddhist rites, I append here a short account of the same :—

The younger of two brothers, named Ōtaka, silk merchants, died suddenly from apoplexy. On the following day, I received the announcement of his death in a note, which, from its appearance, I should not have judged to be any thing of special importance. It was written on common cheap paper, and was about as small as it possibly could be. It was then folded over in Japanese style, and, without an envelope, was addressed to me on the outside of the last fold. In the superscription his name was written with smaller characters than my own. The note read as follows :—

“I beg to inform you that my younger brother, Taijirō, could not recover from his long sickness, and died this morning at day-break. The funeral will take place to-morrow, the eleventh at six o’clock in the afternoon, at the Gion temple ; and his body will be buried there. Tenth moon, tenth day.”

Upon inquiring what it was proper for me to do I learned that it was, of course, best for me attend the funeral ; but that, if I could not go, I might send a present such as a box of cake.

But, as I could not quite bring myself to the idea of sending a present on such a sad occasion, I preferred to indicate our sympathy by my presence. Therefore, I asked one of the High School teachers to accompany me, in order that I might say and do every thing in a manner perfectly in accord with the customs of the land; and, with him, I reached the house of mourning just about six o'clock.

The merchant and his family lived in the rear of, and over, the store; and the whole establishment was lighted up, so that it seemed as if a wedding rather than a funeral was to take place. It may be that the deep darkness of the streets, through which we had passed on our way to the place, made the brightness seem more intense than it really was. But there were not wanting other circumstances indicative to us of rejoicing rather than mourning. In front of the house a large number of people, carrying each a lantern stamped with his own name, were pleasantly conversing; while the store itself was actually crowded with men smoking and chatting; and the noise of the preparations was a real hubbub. That is Japanese Stoicism.

I entered the store, and, with a profound bow, handed my card to the clerk, who seemed to be in charge of that part of the ceremony. The card was received with an obeisance, and my name was then entered in a large record book, made specially for that purpose. This book is, in the main, like a merchant's ledger, except that the top and the bottom are reversed, and the writing runs in Occidental fashion, from left to right. The names of all persons in attendance at the funeral are entered in that book; and afterwards the thanks of the family are returned to each one. As in this case the family was one of

the first in Mito, the number of callers must have been "legion." That funeral ledger is carefully put away in the godown and held sacred by the family of the deceased.

After I had presented my card, I retired outside to await the starting of the funeral procession. The preparations, however, were so deliberate that one hour passed away. When the procession formed, in the very van, a man carried a long, red silk\* banner, attached to a pole, and inscribed with the name of the deceased. Next a man carried a little wooden shrine, about the size of a small dog kennel, to be deposited near the grave. Then, behind a man with a round wooden pillar, to be set up at the grave, came four men, carrying the bier. They were attended by four men, who carried each a large lantern with a roof over it. The bier was a long rectangular pine box, covered with white cloth, and surmounted by a roof, from which hung, here and there, triangular bags of beans or rice. The corpse, dressed in its best silk robes, was in a lying posture.†

When this part of the procession had formed, it proceeded a few rods down the street and halted. The guests, thereupon, took position in a line on each side of the road, and set their lanterns on the ground at their feet. Then the male members of the bereaved family and the near relatives came out to perform a curious ceremony. First, the little seven-year-old son of the deceased was led out by two servants, who kept hold of his hands; then the elder-brother, with his own little boy, and afterwards the cousins and other relatives came

\* The poor use cotton or no banner at all.

† Mitford in his "Sales of Old Japan" says: "The family of the Princes of Mito, and some other nobles, bury their dead in a recumbent position."



out, attended by servants to carry lanterns. Thus they proceeded, down the right side of the street and up the left side, and stopped every few paces to bow to the assembled guests, who returned the salutations. In this ceremony, the women, including the mother, wife, daughter, sister and sister-in-law of the deceased, took no part, but, arrayed in white silk robes and white cotton hoods, looked on from the store. Just at the time of that ceremony, the moon had risen well above the opposite houses, and, adding her silver beams to the light of the lanterns, made a very weird and beautiful scene. But the most affecting sight was that of the fatherless little boy, who, with hands raised to reach the hands of the two servants, passed along and bowed his thanks to the friends who had gathered to pay their last respects to the deceased. When this ceremony was finished, those who had performed it took their places next in the procession; and behind them the guests fell into line according to convenience. But, in the funeral procession and in the rites which followed at the temple, no place was found for the women of the family, not even for his own wife and daughter or his own mother and sister.

The temple at which the further rites were performed is known as Gionji, and belongs to the Jōdo sect. It is one of the few spared by the Mito princes, who, in their zeal for Confucianism and Shintō, almost entirely banished Buddhism from their principality. It is especially famous, because at one time it had a Chinese, named Shinyetsu, as its priest.\*

At this famous old temple, the bier was set on wooden

\* See Note C, page 24, of Vol XVIII, Part I, and pages 20 to 22 of Vol. XXIV, of these "Transactions."

"horses" just above the entrance stairs on the corridor; and just beyond that stood the red silk banner. Next, on the edge of the central matted room, was an altar (?), containing dishes of food, vases of flowers and other articles which I could not distinguish. On both sides of this room were two matted rooms, in one of which were the relatives and in the other the specially invited guests. From both sides, they sat facing the central rooms. Unfortunately, my location in the guest-room was such that I could not see all of the ceremony; but, though I can not, therefore, give a precise account, I shall try to describe what I could understand.

At the opening of the service, a priest beat a bell and a drum a few times each; and then the four or five priests together began the "litany." This was interspersed with the beating of the *mokugyo* (a kind of wooden rattle, shaped like a fish), and the waving of the *hosu* (a kind of wand with a tassel attached). Then the chief priest knelt down before the above-mentioned altar, and repeated a prayer; after which he took a paper of incense from his bosom, and laid it upon a small, low table in front of the altar. From this paper, with his right hand, he took a pinch of incense and burned it in the little charcoal fire. After doing this two or three times, he made a profound bow and retired. Then the elder brother, with his own son and the son of the deceased, each with clasped hands, bowed before the altar and in like manner burned incense. When all the relatives had in turn done likewise, the guests, at first singly, but afterwards pell-mell, went through with that ceremony. As each person arose after burning incense, the relatives, by a profound bow, indicated their thanks. During this ceremony,

the priests were monotonously chanting a Sanskrit hymn; and at its conclusion, the guests dispersed.

I did not, therefore, see the interment, but was informed that there was no special ceremony, except incense-burning and prayer. The grove is ordinarily eight feet deep; and the corpse is buried with its head in any direction except the North, whence comes the cold.\* I do not know whether in this particular instance it was so or not; but formerly it was a pretty general custom (Buddhist in origin), when the husband died first, at that same time to prepare for the widow's burial. In the case of those rich enough to have two sepulchers, both were made at the time of the husband's death. If, as was often the case, the couple were to be buried in one grave, one stone was sufficient. In that case, the Buddhist posthumous names of both were inscribed side by side on that stone. In all cases, whether there were two monuments or only one, the widow's name was also carved and inscribed with red ink; and, when she died, the red ink was erased. This custom is said to be a sign (but not infallible!) that the widow would not marry again.

Often during those funeral ceremonies of the younger Ūtaka, I thought of Sir John Moore, buried

“ By the struggling moon-beam's misty light,  
And the lantern dimly burning.”

But the midnight burial of the English general at Corunna was one of war's contingencies; while in Mito, by the order of Prince Rekkō, for sake of avoiding expense and pomp, the evening was the regular time for funeral rites.

\* Others say that the head is always placed toward the North.

## NOTE XV.

To illustrate still further the ideal character of a true *samurai*, I make a few extracts from an essay on "The Way of Samurai" (*Bushidō*) in "The Sun" (*Taiyō*) by Mr. Y. Takenobu, now on the staff of the "Japan Times":—

The knowledge of *Bushidō*, or "Way of Samurai," is absolutely necessary for any one desirous of knowing something about the Japanese people. In fact the *Bushidō* was and is the guiding spirit of the people in their daily conduct, and the *Yamato-damashii*, about which so much is said or written, is the sum total of it in its varied forms. In other words, *Bushidō* is individual and *Yamato-damashii* is national and the proper combination of the two makes up an ideal Japanese. . . . *Bushidō* held the death of a *samurai* in the presence of a master's charger as the most honourable form of death conceivable. Nationally and individually, then, the warrior's code of practical morals must be highly cherished, for does it not amount to the mode of gentlemen?

"*Bushitaru mono wa nakoso shikere*" ("a *Bushi* should care for fame most") was an expression which from the Hōgen-Heiji period downward, was commonly on the lips of the warriors, and an idea which imparted main impulse to their action. As blood was highly respected, as it subsequently was, they were vigilantly on their guard not to stain their family escutcheon with any dishonorable blot.

This gave rise to a very queer custom, that is to say, the reading of a "genealogical note" (*uji-bumi*), especially when one was about to face an antagonist. At the battle of Ichino-tani, Kajiwaru Kagetoki challenged his enemy thus:—

"I am Kajiwaru Heiza Kagetoki, a descendant of Gongoro

Taira-no Kagemasa, of Kamakura, a denizen of Sagami. That Kagemasa was Lord Hachiman's (Yoshiie's) chief retainer, and it was on the occasion of the battle of Ōshiu, that, when his right eye was wounded by an enemy's arrow, he, without plucking it out, shot his enemy to death, and thus won everlasting fame. Descended from such a forefather as I am, I am a warrior of extraordinary bravery. Anxious about the fate of my son Kagesuke, I have come back, and I challenge any general or captain to come to me."

"*Bushi wa nasake wo shiru*" ("the *Bushi* understands humanity") was also another expression that was very commonly used by true hearted warriors. Kindness and generosity were therefore other distinguishing attributes of *Bushi*, as, indeed, they were even at the time of the Gen-Pei.

Archery, wrestling, and hunting were the pastimes which they were taught to pursue on ordinary occasions. To one who specially excelled in the arts of war, the proud title of the "best archer in Japan" (*Nippon busō no yumitori*), or the "best warrior of the land" (*Honchō busō no yushi*) was awarded in the presence of his fellow clansmen. It is said that either title was regarded with the greatest respect, so that it was considered far more honourable than to receive a large fief, and that every *Bushi* strove to win it.

*Bushi* attained, as indeed almost everything else, the highest development under the discreet rule of the Tokugawa. It was then, especially at the time of the third Shōgun, that loyalty, high sense of honour, disinterestedness, and swordmanship took firm hold in the minds of *samurai* and were considered as the distinguishing marks of the class. Loyalty was their

most predominating sentiment ; before it, even the closest and tenderest of ties was to give way. To a vassal his lord was everything ; no ill usage could estrange him. Such an extraordinary fidelity can not be attributed to the influence of Chinese ethics, for even Confucius, earnest as he was in preaching the doctrine of loyalty, justified the resistance of subjects against wicked, oppressive masters. We presume that this excessive loyalty must be primarily due to the peculiarity of relationship in Japan between lords and their vassals ; for the two were originally descended from the same stock, and the chief of a clan was, in fact, the head of one big family. Now, just as children could not disown or in any way get rid of their parents, however cruelly they might behave, just in the same way the clansmen could not but follow their chief, even though he might prove a man of very arbitrary ways. In short, any idea of freedom could not enter into the mind of Japanese *samurai*.

Urbanity was also very strongly developed among the *samurai* ; but perhaps the sense of honour was still more. This spirit, complemented as it was by the sense of urbanity, gave a very ennobling aspect to the time, which was anything but tranquil. The jealous guard over one's honour gave rise to many noble practices. The *samurai* was, for instance, strictly faithful to promise, so much so that a current expression was in vogue, running to the effect that "the words of *Bushi* are free from equivocation," ("*Bushi no kotoba ni ni-gon wa nai*"). A very simple mode was prevalent at this time, or rather some decades after, among the class, for the contraction of a promise. It was to strike the hilts of the two swords, invariably stuck in the girdle by *samurai*, against each other. The practice was

called *kinchō*. Indeed so sensitive were they of honour that life was given or taken on slight pretenses.

Chikamatsu, the Shakespeare of Japan, gives a typical instance in one of his plays. Inose and Takagi, both clansmen of the fief of Kameyama, were on very intimate terms. One enjoyed a fief of 150 *koku* and the other one of 800 *koku*. One day, there came to Kameyama a sword dealer of Osaka, who had, among the rest, a splendid blade of Nobukuni to sell. The two were equally desirous to have it, but were deterred by the price, 300 *kwammē* of gold. As a party of clansmen were in turn looking at the blade, highly admiring the workmanship, Takagi, out of intimacy and with no malicious intent at all, let slip a few disparaging words addressed to Inose. "That is above your means, Inose," said he. It was an unfortunate slip. Inose winced under the taunt, but only received it at the time with a cool smile. Next day it was noised abroad that Inose was insulted by Takagi in the presence of clansmen. It was even jeeringly observed, whether he could be a *samurai* to have tamely submitted under such an insult. Inose's heart rankled with anger and shame to hear such a report. He sold off every valuable effect he had in his possession, and bought the sword expressly at double the price asked. Having girt on this sword, he waited for Takagi as the latter was on his way to the castle, challenged, and, after desperate combat, killed him. This accomplished, he returned home, and after bidding farewell to his family, committed suicide with the same ill-fated sword.

The last topic to be treated is the habit of disinterestedness, which, in strong contrast to the people of the West and in particular to the Chinese, constitutes one of the most pro-

minent characteristics of the Japanese race. In fact, any idea of hoarding, as it was unnecessary, was incompatible with the "Way of *Bushi*," for a *samurai* was expected to be ready any time to offer his life to the service of his master and the word 'tomorrow' had no place in his mind. A hoard was rather regarded as a dangerous encumbrance tending to drag him down to mean thoughts and actions. Nor was hoarding necessary in the house of a warrior, for his income was hereditary, and therefore he could face death with perfect composure as to the welfare of his family after his death. Borrowing was considered as receiving *gratis*, and lending as giving, among true *samurai*; for borrowing and lending involved a future obligation which a *samurai* could not pledge to discharge.





## LAWS OF THE TOKUGAWA PERIOD.

BY

MR. J. H. GUBBINS, C.M.G

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that the instructions given by Prince Mitsukuni to his retainers, which form the subject of the paper just read, were part of a whole system of laws, decrees, regulations and instructions issued under the Tokugawa administration. These were of various kinds, were issued under many different titles, and covered a wide field, their range embracing administrative matters, ceremonial rules of etiquette, enactments with regard to nobles' retinues, sumptuary laws, religion, family law, ethical teaching, official duties, and the relations between the Shōgunate and the feudal nobility, and between the latter and their retainers and the people under their rule. Not infrequently they included precepts for the guidance of the Throne, special injunctions addressed to the court aristocracy, and regulations for the Imperial Household, but as a rule they concerned either the military class generally, or some portion of it, or the members of that class in their official capacities, the titles under which they appeared varying with the source from which they emanated, and according as they were of special or general application. Some, and perhaps the most important, were issued directly by the governing Shōgun, being countersigned in certain cases by ministers of state, others were issued by the council of state, or by some prominent statesman of the day, and some again were issued by

local Daimiōs for the guidance of their own retainers. To this last category the Prince of Mito's instructions seem to belong.

Of the laws emanating directly from the Shōgunate those to which the greatest weight appears to have been attached were the *Buk-shohō* *lo*, or General Laws for the military class.

Speaking of these the "*Awabiō-shi*," a manual of the military class, published originally in what purported to be a complete form in 1838, but to which three supplementary volumes were afterwards added at different times, says in its preface:—"They were issued afresh in each successive administration; we omit the others, and publish only those now in force."

"And the same manual states in regard to these others:—  
 "These 'General Laws for the military class' were issued for  
 "the first time in the shape of 13 Articles in the year 1615  
 "during the administration of the 2nd Shōgun Hidetada; it is  
 "also said that they were promulgated by Honda Masanobu  
 "from the Castle of Fushimi. At the same time the 17 Articles  
 "concerning the Emperor, the abdicated Emperor, and  
 "the *Kuge*, were also promulgated from the Castle of Nijo."

We also learn from it that in the year 1629 during the administration of the 3rd Shōgun Iyemitsu 'General Laws for the military class' in the shape of 11 Articles were published, and were followed by 9 Articles on miscellaneous subjects, that later on during the same administration both sets of laws were published in a revised form, and that these General Laws were republished with only slight textual variations during each succeeding administration,—with the exception of that of the 7th Shogun Iyetsugu,—down to the time

when the manual was printed, though in some cases the republication did not extend to the Articles on miscellaneous subjects.

Finally referring to the particular Laws mentioned in the preface the manual adds:—"During the present administration"—(that of the 12th Shōgun Iyeyoshi)—"in the year 1838 the laws now in force were issued. They are the same as those previously promulgated, and must be strictly observed."

What has been said with regard to the wide scope of the whole series applies almost equally to this special class of laws, as will be seen from the following précis of the seventeen Articles published in the manual.

Members of the military class were enjoined to study learning and military accomplishments, to illustrate by their conduct the five social relations, and to act uprightly.

Daimiōs and landed gentry were exhorted to use their best efforts in the administration of their fiefs, and in ruling their retainers, and to be careful to do nothing to excite the resentment of the agricultural classes, or cause them suffering.

Daimiōs were also commanded to keep troops and horses ready for the use of the Government in time of war, and to save up money to meet any expenditure required for the public service.

They were to be careful to pay their periodical visits to Yedo at the fixed times, and to see that their retainers did not exceed the proper complement, and\* that their retainers and attendants of all ranks conformed strictly to the requirements of their respective positions.

They were not permitted to build new castles as they

pleased, and were obliged to consult the Government in regard to repairs made to existing fortifications of the nature of moats and stone walls ; but no restriction was imposed upon the construction of towers, gates and wooden fences. They\* were forbidden to obstruct communications by withholding facilities in the matter of post-stations, bridges, ferries, and coolies and horses, or by the erection of guard-houses of their own ; and they were warned against building vessels of 500 *koku* burden, or upwards, except for the carrying of cargo.

Officials were not to take advantage of their power to oppress the people, or to make public business subserve private ends. They were to be conciliatory in their bearing towards their colleagues, consult freely over affairs, facilitate in every way the communication of the wishes of the people to the Government, act with impartiality and fairness, and making themselves thoroughly acquainted with the work of their several offices discharge their public duties to the best of their ability.

It was also enjoined upon officials of all ranks that the taking of bribes, the using of their authority for the furtherance of secret schemes, and intriguing to gain the support of others, opened the way to evil, corrupted good morals, and disorganized the system of administration. When\* cases which required the decision of the Government arose care was to be taken that they were referred to the proper officials. Private representations to the Government and secret scheming were inadmissible, even though right were on the side of the persons from whom they emanated.

Members of the military class generally were reminded that carousing and idleness were forbidden by ancient enactments ; and they were instructed that vieing with one another in

ostentatious living, ignorance of the rules of etiquette, seeking after profit regardless of shame, unseasonable arguments about persons' abilities, and secret discussions upon the merits of public questions, were subversive of all morality. Nothing could be worse than such things, and they were severely forbidden.

Disputes between farmers were to be settled by the Daimiō under whose rule they were. Those in which two or more fiefs were involved were to be settled either by conference between the Daimiōs concerned, or by the local officials of the districts in question. Cases which could not be thus settled were to be referred to the Judicial Department in Yedo.

Private quarrels between Daimiōs in respect of border disturbances, the pursuit and apprehension of criminals, or other matters of whatsoever kind, were to be avoided. If a matter could not be arranged amicably, it was to be referred to the Judicial Department in Yedo.

In the event of any unusual occurrence of a serious nature members of the military class were to keep quiet where they were, the *samurai* in their residences, and the Daimiōs and landed gentry in their territories and lands; they were not to move about without cause, and were to report the matter at once to the authorities. If a crime were committed none were to go out to investigate except the official despatched for that purpose by the Shōgunate; no questions were to be raised as to the rank of the Shōgun's emissary, or as to the gravity of the crime, and no obstruction was to be offered to the investigation. But\* if a sudden emergency occurred in an apartment of the castle at Yedo, the persons present in the chamber were to investigate the matter. Every one else was to remain quiet, and not to move about without cause.

If no other persons were in the apartment at the time of the occurrence, the matter might be dealt with by those who were near at hand.

It was pointed out that in the matter of dress, houses, banquets, and presents, extravagance and parsimony were equally opposed to what was proper and decorous; each person was to conform strictly to the requirements of his station in life, neither exceeding nor falling short of the just limits. *Kuge* and persons of still higher rank were permitted to wear on ceremonial occasions garments of white silk with an inwoven design, and persons of the 5th rank and upwards white wadded garments. Such persons were not allowed to wear lined garments of a purple colour, dresses with a purple lining, dresses of soft silk, or outer garments bearing no crest. Persons of lesser rank were in regard to their dress to conform strictly to the requirements of their stations in life, and in all matters concerning dress ancient enactments were to be observed by all.

Only eminent personages of the *Gosanke* or three Shōgun Families, lords of provinces, and lords of castles with revenues not less than ten thousand *koku*, the eldest sons of lords of provinces, lords of castles, and Chamberlains at the court of Yedo, and persons of 50 years of age or upwards, were permitted to ride in *norimono*. Doctors and priests were of course, it was added, outside the law (which concerned only the military class).

Daimiōs with revenues of ten thousand *koku* and upwards, officials having the privilege of audience with the Shōgun, and Courtiers attached to the Shōgun's household were forbidden to contract marriages amongst themselves at their pleasure. Should such persons enter into negotiations for marriage with

members of *Kuge* families, they were to obtain the Government's permission before concluding the marriage arrangements. Marriage ceremonies were to be conducted in accordance with ancient enactments, and in conformity with the requirements of each person's station in life. Of late years there had arisen a habit of discussing, in cases of marriage, the question of bridal presents, and of wedding trousseaus, and things had even gone so far as the contraction of marriages between persons of high and persons of low birth. Such evil practices were strictly prohibited.

As regards succession, it was of course unnecessary to state that a person should be succeeded by his descendants. A person who had no sons must choose a successor from among his relatives on the male side bearing the same surname. A person of 17 years of age or upwards who had no sons was allowed to choose a successor, and petition the Government to confirm his choice. In\* cases where, notwithstanding the existence of a son, some one else was chosen as successor, and, in cases where a successor was chosen in default of sons, the relatives were to confer together and agree upon the successor, and then the matter was to be referred to the Government for its decision. Such irregularities as the presentation of petitions on this subject in which right was ignored, and the presentation of such petitions by persons on the point of death, could not be permitted. But in the case of persons whose parents, or ancestors, or who themselves, had rendered eminent service to the State questions of succession might as an act of special favour be settled by the Government without the presentation of any petition. In cases where there was no relative on the male side to succeed, a relative on the female side bearing an-

other surname was to be chosen, and the matter referred to the Government. Of late years it had happened that relationship had been ignored, and that questions of succession had been determined by monetary considerations. This was improper conduct, and in future it was strictly forbidden.

Further rigorous enactments against the practice of committing suicide upon the death of a feudal lord had been issued. Such improper acts as the formation of secret societies, and the taking of solemn vows of brotherhood being subversive of the Constitution were strictly prohibited.

The confiscation of domains belonging to Buddhist temples and Shintō Shrines in the various provinces, and of lands presented to them from ancient times, was forbidden. Enactments prohibiting the erection of new temples and shrines had already been issued, but if it was desired to erect one, and a good reason existed for doing so, the matter was to be referred to the Government for its decision. The Christian sect was of course strictly prohibited, but even in the case of other religious sects existing from ancient times the corruption of the morals of the people by the setting up of new and strange laws, and the invention of doctrines of witchcraft, was strictly prohibited.

The concluding passage runs as follows:—"The foregoing Articles have been amended by reference to ancient statutes. They are to be observed with reverence far and near wherever the Shōgun's commands extend."

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It should be mentioned that several passages in the Articles are prefaced by the word "additional." These are probably the interpolations referred to in the manual as having been intro-



duced from time to time into the original text. I have marked these passages in my précis with an asterisk.

As we read the curious medley of subjects with which these so-called laws deal we notice the jealous precautions taken by the Shōgunate to maintain its authority, the stress laid on decorum and ceremonial so characteristic of the Tokugawa period, the direct encouragement of the instinct which leads people in communities where there is little security for life and property to shrink from being concerned, however indirectly, in any untoward affair, the pride of caste underlying the reference to doctors and priests as being beyond the pale of the law which hedged the privileged military class, and the fact that in a law so general in its scope no mention whatever is made of artizans or merchants.

This short paper touches only the fringe of the subject, which I hope to be able to treat more fully later on, but the little placed before you to-day is perhaps sufficient to indicate how wide the subject is, and what large sources of information for those who would know more of Japan in her feudal days this class of literature contains.



## APPENDIX I.

### SARIS' JOURNAL OF HIS VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES.

There is preserved, in the India Office, a fair copy of SARIS' journal of his voyages to the East and West Indies. The last portion of it, narrating his arrival and stay in Japan, is perhaps the most interesting part of it; but the whole volume will soon be edited by Sir ERNEST SATOW in the Hakluyt Society's Series. The account of the eighth journey of the East India Company in Purchas' grand Collection is chiefly a reproduction of the corresponding part of SARIS' Journal. But SARIS has used this opportunity for adding (from memory) many descriptive passages of his own and some letters written to him from Japan since he had left it, enhancing thereby the value of his contribution very considerably. On the other hand he has for various and obvious reasons left out or changed passages the publication of which in their original form would not have been favourable to his own, or his employers' reputation or interest. It has therefore been thought advisable to give the more important abstracts upon which some statements in the preceding Narrative are based, partly from the MS. Journal and partly from PURCHAS' publication. As the latter is rather difficult of access, I refer to the partial reprint in RUNDALL'S "Memorials of Japon," as far as it goes:

"(1613) JANUARY. THE 14TH in the morning we weighed out of the Road of Bantam for Japan, having taken in heere for that place 700 sacks pepper for a Tryall there. My company 81 persons viz. 74 English, one Spanyard, one Japon and 5 Swarts. . . . .

“The ninth (of June, 1613) in the morning we had sight of land bearing N. N. E. and six great Ilands one a ranke from the Iland we descried yesternight N E and S W, and at the northermost end of them all many small rocks and homocks. And you shall see in the Bays to the E. ward of the homocks a hic\* land bearing E., E. by S., and E. S. E., which is the island called XIMA in the platts, but by the naturalls MASHMA, and the Island afforesaid, N. N. E., is called SEGUE or AMAX-ay; it lyeth E. by N. and W. by S. with many small islands and rocks on the southern side of them, and is distant from the island with the steep point which we did see the 8th day S. S. W. twelve leagues. The wind calm all night yet we got to the northward, as we suppose, by help of a Current or tyde.

The tenth (of June, 1613) in the morning, brake of daye the outwardmost land to the W. ward did beare N. by E. 10 leagues off. Wynd at N. E. by N. At nine a gale at S. We steered N. by W. and had sight of 2 homocks without the point. Then we steered N. N. W. and soun after came four greate fisherboates† aboard whoe tould us that we weare thwart the going into NANGASQUE: it bearing N. N. E. and the straits of AREMA N. E. by N., and the hic\* hill we did see yesterday is upon the island called USZIDEKE which makes the straits of AREMA, where at the N. most end is good Riding and at the S. end is the going into COCHINOCH. To this noon we have made a North-way six leagues. I gave order to the Master and purser to agree with two of the masters of the fisherboats to pilot

\* Sic! “High” P.

† Here is a description of Japanese fishingboats and the way of rowing them inserted in P.

us into FERANDO who concluded per 30 Rials and rice for their Dyett and after their people entered the ship and laboured very willingly at all work our people were about. We steered N. by W., the pilot making account to be 30 leagues off FERANDO. One of the four boats which came aboard me was belonging to the Portingales at LANGASAGUE and weare new Christians. Thinking we had beene the Mackeaue shipp but finding the Contrarye would upone no intreatye staye but made haste to advise them.

The 11th about 3 o'clock in the afternowne we came to Anchor  $\frac{1}{2}$  a league short of FERANDO the Tyde so spent that we could not goe further in. I caused 1 piece ordnance to be shot of at Anckorning, it being the custome as I am informed by the Naturalls, so to do. And soone after I was vizited by the ould King cauld FOINE SAME and his nephew TONESAME at present governor of the Iland under the ould man afforesaid, his Grandfather. They\* bade me welcome with promise of kinde and free intertainment. I delivered him the Kings Majesties letter which he receaved with great Joye, saing he would not open it till ANGE† came whoe could interpret it unto him, which Ange in there language is pilot and ment Mr. ADDAMS whoe is heare so called for that he came pilott of a Fleming into this countrey which ship after was heare ruinated. I intertaned his Majestie with a banquet of severall sorts conserves, furnished all in Glasse which gave him great content and had a Consert of good musick whearein he took great pleasure. And at his departure gave him 13 pieces ordinance and five at

\* A description of their dress and manner of saluting and the number of boats accompanying them is here inserted in P.

† ANGE in P.

the Governours Brothers departure.\* And presently after came one BROWER Capitain of the Dutch Factorye heere a-shoare to vizite me or rather to see what past betweene the king and us. I used him kindly and intreated him to supper and at departure gave him 5 pieces ordnance. The king sent to man of account to lye aboard that no injurie weare offered us whom I caused to be well accommodated. I writt to Mr. ADAMMS at Edoe which by king FOINE was with all speede sent awaye unto him the coppye whereof is extant.†”

The twelfth (of June 1613) in the mourning, there was brought aboard such abundance of fish and so cheape as we could desire. We weighed and set sail for the road. The king sent out at the least threscore great boats or gallyes very well mand, to bring us into harbor. They towed us about a pointe somewhat dangerous by reason of the force of the tyde but would not suffer me to give them anything for their pains. Wee anchored before the towne in five fathome, so near the shoare, that we might talke to the people in their houses. We saluted the towne with nine pieces of ordnance but were not answered, for they have no ordnance here, nor any fort but barrocados only for small shot. Our ground heere was ozie. Divers noblemen came to bid me welcome, whereof two were of great account, as MARTSON of Batchan had formerly advized me of their names viz. NOBUSANE and SIMADONO who were well entreated and at parting had 16 pieces ordnance houlding great state, one staying a while after the other and their children and chief followers after them. There came continually such a world of people aboard, both men and women,

\* This saluting of the Daimyo and BROWER is left out in P.

† This letter of SARIS' to ADAMS is not preserved to us.

as that we were not able to go upon the decks: round about the ship was covered with boats full of people, admiring much the head and sterne of the ship. I gave leave to divers sort of women to come into my Cabbin, where the picture of Venus did hang very lasciviously\* set out and in large frame. They thinking it to bee our ladie, fell downe and worshipped it, with shewes of great devotion, telling me in a whispering manner (that some of their own companious which were not so, might not heare) that they were *Christianos*: whereby we perceived them to be Christians, made Papestes by the Portugale Jesuits.

Divers eatable presents weare sent me by the king and his nobilmen: Tubbes of the counteryewyne, fish, hoggs, pigges and such like, which in requitall to them which brought it was by order given 3 pieces coarse Baftas. Mr. ADDAMS' his hoste came and brought me a letter which he had left with him the last monsoone when he was heer to deliver from him to the first English ship arriving heare so that from Bantam or Pattanye he had understood of a shipp to come.† Ordering a post to be sent for him overland which I did notwithstanding I had formerly writt which was by the kings means sent away with

\* This passage is toned down in P. SARIS seems to have been very fond of "lascivious" pictures. After his return from Japan the Court Minutes of the East Indian Company record some "imputations upon Captain SARIS for certain lascivious books and pictures brought home by him, a great scandal to the Company, and unbecoming their gravity to permit" (1614 Dec. 16th.) "Great speeches having been made on the Exchange of certain books brought home by Capt. SARIS, they are put into the fire by the governor where they continued till they were burned and turned into smoke, which, it is hoped, will give satisfaction, that such wicked spectacles are not fostered and maintained by any of the Company," (1615 January 10th) Cal. of State Papers, vol. I, No. 839 and 871.

† SARIS' supposition regarding the source of ADAMS' information was not correct. ADAMS had received this news, as his letter of January 12th 1613 proves, directly from the governor of the East Indian Company SIR THOMAS SMYTHE and passed it on to AUGUSTIN SPALDING at Bantam. The whole passage showing ADAMS' thoughtful foresight has been left out in P.

speede. Given to Mr. Addames host viz. 1 piece Chauteur at 22 R. per Corge, 1 piece Serebaffe of 20 R. per Corge, 1 piece Bafta of 16 R. per Corge. Given more to 7 of the King's women which came aboard with him 3 pieces Bafta of 20 R. per Corge, 2 pieces Bafta of 16 R. per Corge, 1 piece Bafta of 17 and 1 piece Chaudeur at 8 R. per Corge.‡

I spake to the King to have a convenient house ashoar which he willingly granted. And took Mr. Cock and Mr. PEACOCK with him to whom he showed 3 or 4 houses willing them to take their choice to paying the owners as we could agree. They returned aboard having taken the one but not fullye agreed upon price. Paid to the Pilots which brought us to an anchor here 30 R.

NOTE.—My hole company heare is 70 persons, viz. 63

English, 1 Japanese, 1 Spanyard and 5 Swartes, having lost 11 between Bantam and this porte of Ferando in

Japan. God continue the lifes of the rest.

THE 13TH (of June 1631) I confered with Mr. Cock and the Marchants 2 fitting presents for the king and governor and was resolved upon as followeth to be equally divided between them viz.

1/2 a Stamet Co.* No. 61	cost R....	...056.	1.
1/2 a Black — — 116	— —...	...053.	3.
1/2 a Flame colour — 114	— —...	...038.	3.
1/2 a Gallant — 113	— —...	...043.	3.
2 Barrels of powder	— ...	...035.	2.
2 dobel lockt Damask peeces	... ..	...017.	2.

‡ A description of their dress and appearance, their manners and music is added in R. p. 51.

\* i.e. cloth?

6 pieces Simmyan Chauters	...	...	...010.	3.
10 fine white Chauters	...	...	...011.	—
10 Blew Byrams...	...	...	...007.	2.
10 pieces white Baftas	...	...	...005.	2.
10 „ Casamy harare	...	...	...010.	—
04 „ Tapsell mature	...	...	...009.	—
10 „ Red sellar	...	...	...006.	—
04 „ Alleiayes	...	...	...003.	1.
02 Gilte plate Cupps p 17 $\frac{5}{9}$ p.	...	...	...030.	$\frac{7}{9}$
02 pieces pintados psgars	...	...	...001.	—

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R. 340. —  $\frac{3}{8}$  †

I went ashore and delivered the said presents accompanied with the marchants and the master and best of the sailors and had 9 pieces shot at the deliverye of each present; being the fashion so to doe, as the Flemings inform me; otherwyse they think it not given with a full heart. I also gave to the young king or Governor my kittasoll which he toke a liking to being very fare of white Damask with a deep silk and Gould fringe. Not at present but after my retorne aboard sent it unto him which he most kindlye accepted requitting me with a millyon of Compliments, wherein they are very perfect by Portingales and Spaniards instructions. I sent to the Captain of the Dutch house a Runlett of Spanish wyne and a Tearse of stronge beare.

THE 14TH (of June 1613) understanding that there weare other great men whoe expected presents, conferred with the merchants and appoynted as followeth :

† The proper amount would be 336 R.  $1\frac{3}{8}$ , equal to 84£. The figure 140£ (in R. p. 51) represents the value of all presents given on the 13th 14th and 15th.



for the young king's brother and NOBUSAME to be parted equallye between them

½ a Stamet Co. No. 61	...	...	...	R. 056.	1.
½ a Gallant „ „ 113	...	...	...	043.	3.
10 pieces blue Birams	...	...	...	007.	2.
10 „ red sellar 5	...	...	...	006.	—
20 „ white Baftas	...	...	...	009.	—
10 „ Cassany harere	...	...	...	009.	—
06 „ fine Chauters	...	...	...	006.	3.
04 „ fine Buralle	...	...	...	001.	3.
01 „ Tapsel	...	...	...	002.	1.
02 „ pintados pisgar	...	...	...	000.	3.
01 „ parrot bought of the Carpenter			R 015.	—	
more 2 R of 8 to NOBUSAMES two sons				002	

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R 160.

Capt. BROWER came aboard to dynner. At his departure I had 3 pieces. And so I went ashore accompanied with the merchants and at deliverye of the said presents had 7 pieces of. And at coming aboard a nobleman called UNOGENSIE sent me a fat hogg and 2 barrels of wyne for a present. I returned thanks and gave the Messenger 1 piece white Bafta. And ordered 2 pieces of the same to be delivered to JOHN JAPAN to make him shirts being our linguist.

THE 15TH (of June 1613) upon advise of 5 more which expected presents and might greatly pleasure us it was resolved as fitting to give amongst them the so following parcelles viz. (follows another list, of which we give as in some other cases only the total amount) 188 R. ⅓. I sent Mr. Cocks and the

merchants to deliver these presents and to the King a faire pare of knives, TONOA SAME a bottel of Spannish wyne and a bottel of Roase water and to Captain BROWER a pot of English butter ; all which was requitted with Thanks.

THE 16TH (of June 1613) I concluded with Capt. AUDACE, captain of the China quarter here for his house, to pay 95 R. for the monson of six months, he to repair it at present and we to repair it hereafter, and alter what we pleased : he to furnish all convenient roomes with mats according to the fashion of the Countrey.

THE 17TH (of June 1613) it was found necessary to give the following parcels to 3 officers, viz. the 2 Guardians and ANTONY the Admirall of the Sea ——— 46 R.  $\frac{1}{8}$  This day our ship was so pestered with people, as that I was enforced to send to the king for a guardian to clear them out, many things been stolne, but I more doubted our own people than the naturalls ; but they laid it on them. So we cannot find the theefe. There came in a Fleming in one of the Countrey boates, which had been at the island *Mashma*, where he had dosl good store of Pepper, Broadcloth and Elephants teeth, but would not be aknowne unto us to have sold anything, yet brought nothing back in the boat with him. But the Japons his waterman told us the truth, viz. that he had sold good quantity of goods at a Mart there, and returned with barres of silver which they kept very secret.

THE 18TH (of June 1613) I sent Mr. COCKS ashore and my carpenter to instruct and give directions for the necessarie fitting of the house. FRANCISCO a Swart whipped at the Mast for stealing of JOHN JAPONS cloak out of the English house ashoare. The king and his son came aboard to vizite me.

Given to his son a parrakita cost 4 R. and at parting 7 pieces.

THE 19TH (of June 1613) I went ashore and vizited theould and young kings and having given some directions about our house vizited the Flemings and returned aboard.

THE 21ST (of June 1613) the old king came aboard againe, and brought with him his women to be frolicke. I entreated them kindly with musick and a bankett of Conserves of divers sorts which the king took very well. Given to his Majesty a perspective glasse and a wrought nightcapp of black silke and Goulde, and so the took his leave. . . . .

THE 23RD (of June 1613) we had newes of 2 China Junks arrived at Langasaque laden with sugar. . . . .

THE 26TH (of June 1613) at request of our landlord I ordered Mr. COCKS to let him have 50 R. in part paiment of of his rent.

THE 29TH (of June 1613) a Soma or Junke of the Flemings arrived at Langasaque, from Syam, laden with Brasill wood and skins of all sorts, wherein it was said that there were Englishmen but proved to be Flemings. . . . .

THE FIRST OF JULY (1613) two of our Company happened to quarrell the one with the other, and were very likely to have gone into the field, to the endangering of us all. For it is a custom here, whosoever draws a weapon in anger, although he doe no harme therewith, hee is presently cut in peeres; and doing but small hurt, not only themselves are so executed, but their whole generation.

THE 2ND (of July 1613) I went to lye ashore and took with me for the house 20 English 2 strangers 1 Spannyard 1 a Japan, both Jurebassos and intertained 4 Japans for

drudgery so that our household is 26 persons 12 of them salors to take up our goods sort and helpe the Merchants having nothing for them to do aboard. I writt a latter to Mr. ADDAMS and sent it by SIMADONO whoe was bound to Ozsaka to deliver it him if he met with him coming or to bring it back again to Ferando.

THE 3RD (of July 1613) This day the King came to breakfast to me whoe I acquainted that BROWER Captain of the Dutch was to depart as I heard this night for Edo. And doubted it was to be som hindrance to Mr. ADDAMS his coming being that he made such haste and leaft his charge heare without any owne Dutchman to looke to it. He all alone the rest all disperred to Islands abroad. He said he would at my request stop his Journey and did presentlye abranded his order that no boate or barke depart out of the roade without his leave. And taking great taking to a Gould ring Mr. Cocks had worth 3£it was by counsell thought good to bestowe it one him, and Mr. COCKS to allow himself for it.

THE 4TH (of July 1613) having againe intelligence that there were Englishmen at Langasacque com from Syam. Acquainted the King that I purposed to send a marchant thether to see and at his owne charge he proffered me a barke of speede which I accepted and sent Mr. PEACOCK to inquire the truthe. I also acquainted him that BROWER was this last night gone for Langasacque which he sent do inquire and found it true whearefore presentlye sent and seased one the master of the barkes house and goods, imprisoned his familye and it is doubted will execute the man at retorne for disobaying his order.

THE 5TH (of July 1613) I was feasted by a Nobleman called UNO GENSIE. and at retorne home found Capt. BROWER

staing to vizit me saing that he was come from Langasaque where was a Soma of this countrye come from Syam wherein LUCAS ANTONYSON had laden a certain quantitie of Braseele wood for the account of the English company. I thanked him for his newes and asked him whether he did see any letters for the English. He said such goods could not come without letters of advice.

THE 6TH (of July 1613) Capt. BROWER sent me a letter certifying me that he had mistaken himself and that sickness and overwaking was the occasion thereof. But that LUCAS ANTONYSON had sould the said wood to the Master of the Soma called JOHN YOSEN a Fleming at a price to pay 2 for one at his retorne for Siam. This letter did not well please me, houlding that the Fleming did but skoffe me. Whereupon I sent Mr. COCKS to BROWER to will him to consider better of the matter, for I would not be jested with and that if he could not show me better proof of the bargain made then his own word I would as little knowledge as I had in the counterye take that course, as should not be pleasing to him. He told Mr. COCKS he had since the arrival of the Soma bought the same wood of YOZEN and cared not what course I should take. With which answer Mr. COCKS returned. This YOZEN as I am crediblye informed is a baose fellow and was one of the factions in the flemish shipp long since ruinated whereof Mr. ADDAMS was pilott.

THE 7TH (of July 1613) I sent Mr. COCKS with a Jurebasso to the ould king and advised him what had passed between BROWER and me intreating his Maj. that the goods might be sequestrated and no sale made thereof till Mr. ADDAMES came who was acquainted with the said YOZEN. The which the

king presently granted and sent an officer forthwith to BROWER to charge him not to sell or send away any of the said wood and to let his servant have a view in his warehouse which quantity there might be of it without deceit which was presently performed. The officer returned made a good jest of Mr. BROWER's colour in this course. This day 2 Spaniards came to intreat they might have leave to go aboard the shipp saing they were of Mr. ADDAMES his acquaintance wherefore I gave leave but writt the Mr. to be careful of them for that I doubted they were but fuitives (!) and spies from the preestes of Langasaque. Also the king of Goto came to vizit the king of Ferando hearing of a most excellent ship in his kingdom, as he said, and desired he might go aboard and see her. The king sent and entreated me he might be permitted and used kindly for he was his good friend. I writt the Mr. to entertain him well and sent Mr. Cocks to accompany him offering myself but the ould King entreated the contrary and appointed 5 pieces to be given him at departure (which gave the old King great content and the other sent me great thanks for) wishing he might live to see some of our nation to arrive at his Island where he hoped our entertainment should be to our content. The young King sent me  $\frac{1}{2}$  a fatt buck which I cauld to be baked in 2 pastyes and returned him the one with 2 bottles of wyne with thanks which he took in friendly sort.

THE 8TH (of July 1613) three Japonians were executed; viz. two men and one woman. (The details given in R. p. 54 are here omitted.) Given this daye 1 piece white Rangenes to the King's man which brought the venison and 1 piece Bafta to him which went with Mr. Peacock to Langasaque.

THE 9TH. After midnight the ould King sent to the house

to entreat me to send Mr. Cocks and my linguist to him which I did. The occasion was to entreat me to excuse him for that he came not so often to visit me as formerly, the reason was for that he doubted a spie to be in town sent by the Emperor to take notice what courtesies past between us; notwithstanding he would not want now and then to come unto me expecting the like from me. And sent unto me by him a Cattan which for many years he had worn himself entreating me to accept thereof and keep it for his sake; he also entered into speeches with them about the prices of our commodities willing me not to sett to hie a rate thereon for so we should not sell them in a long time. The Flemings as he said having much hindered themselves that waye. And he doubted not but the Emperor would buy the greatest part of our goods. And after himself and his friends would have some part.

THE 10TH (of July 1613). (Again an execution described; for details see Rundall p. 55).

THE 11TH (of July 1613) there came to visit me one MELSER VAN JONFOD† a Fleming and one of those which came in the ship with Mr. ADDAMS into this country and at present came from Syam and brought letters to Mr. ADDAMS from LUCAS ANTONYESSONNE for Mr. ADDAMS which he delivered me for him being bound away to his house at Sackea where he is maryed. I did offer him entertainment finding him very stayed and understanding both in the language as also in traffick or to bring him unto England if he so pleased; but he refused both being better affected to this course of life holding it far more contenting then if he weare in his own counterye.

† His real name was MELCHIOR VAN SANTVOORD.

I had intelligence of 3 China junks arrived at Langasaque laden with silks.

THE 12TH (of July 1613) MELSER came to vizit me and gave me some good notes of the course of trade in these parts acknowledging there was great profit to be made but must be followed by China and Syam wares as the Portingales Spaniards and their nation did, being furnished at Pattanye of all sorts and in what quantitie yearly they listed but the other nations had theirs from Maccaue and the Phillippinas. He desired to see the ship which I granted and in regard of his willingness to give me the best advice he could gave him 3 pieces at departure and his child 1 piece Calico.

THE 13TH (of July 1613) being thought fitting be Mr. COCKS and the Merchants to bestow a present of our landlord who was very diligent in helping us it was concluded to bestowe there parcels viz.

3	yards black Co. No. 169	...	...	...	R. 9.	—
3	pieces Baftas	...	...	...	...	1. 5.
2	pieces Blue Byrams	...	...	...	...	1. 5.
2	„ Red Sellas	...	...	...	...	1. $\frac{1}{8}$
						<hr/>
						13. $\frac{1}{8}$

Mr. COCKS had order to deliver the purser 50 Tais Japan money is  $62\frac{1}{2}$  R. for the provision of the ship. Borrowed of the old King 500 R. of 8 Japan money. Sold to TONESAME the young King 2 Barrels of powder to pay as the rest shall be sold.

THE 14TH (of July 1613). This day was brought ashore 124 Elephants Teeth, 3 Chests and part of a Chest of



Tin. And 2 *hgd* Galls and all the brand clothes. I appointed Mr. EATON Cater of the house. I sent Mr. PEACOCK to compliment with the 2 Kings which they took very kindly.

THE 15TH. This day was brought ashore 12 *hgd* a butt of Cloves.

THE 16TH brought ashore 650 bars of lead delivered to the young King 20 (lb.) Cloves is 15 Cattyees to pay as the rest are sold,

THE 17TH brought ashore 281 bars lead. I sent a fair leading staff gracefully sett out to the King which he took in kind part.

THE 18TH The old and young Kings sent me present of eatable commodities which according to the value given to their servant which brought them 2 pieces coarse callyco of 10 R. *p.* Corge.

THE 19TH The old King Foyne entreated me for a peece of Poldavis which I sent him. He caused it presently to be made into coats, which he did wear next his skinne, and some part thereof was made into handkerchiefs which he daily uses.

THE 20TH Simmadone retorned me my letter directed to Mr. ADDAMS being come back and not meeting with him. 95 sacks pepper was brought ashoare I understood of a Soma come from Cochanchina to Langasaque laden with silkes and Beniamine excellent clear and rich.

THE 21TH (of July 1613) JOHN YOZEN the Fleming which came from Syam and is said to have bought the wood aforesaid of Sr. LUCAS came to vizit me and left with me a letter for Mr. ADDAMS; he said he would prove the wood was sold to him to pay 2 for one as his retorne to Siam but the matter resteth tell Mr. ADDAMS doeth come whose letters

will make the truth manifest. The old King came while this Fleming was with me, he told me he was of no account and very much indetted in the countreye.

THE 22TH (of July 1613) the King came to vizeit me and took liking to 6 very fine cayne staves wrought, a Bandalere very large and for my own use and a fair large fan of East-ridge feather all which was thought fit by myself and the merchants to bestowe upon him. Finding him kind and not denying anything I request. And at his departure Simadono came to compliment with me making relation of a voyage he pretended to the Emperor's court but for some occasions did not proceed further than Ozacca. But I rather think he hath been at some island hereabout to sell those presents bestowed by me upon the King himself and rest of the nobility. And which makes me the more confide at therein is, he is desirous to have of the same commodities some quantity but upon trust, but I hold compliment fitter for such a customer than commodity (having lately heard he is much indetted to the Flemings and is a bad paymaster.) TONESAMA the young King had credit this day for 1 sack pepper pois. 103 Cattyes and 1 sack Cloves p. 85 cattyes to pay as the rest is sold.

THE 24TH the young King sent a bill for his dett and very great fish for a present, the old King sent one of the same fishes and came to dinner to me.

THE 25TH (of July 1613) this being our Kings Coronation day I ordered 11 pieces ordnance to be shot of (our ship to put abroad all her gallanty) which the naturals took great notice of. The King much commending our order in remembering our duty. And in the afternoon vizing his Majesty at his court he bestowed upon me a fair armour which

he said he would give at this present for that he held it of some esteem having worn it in the wars of Corea. And in honour of his Majesty's coronation I imbrast his love and received his present with 9 pieces ordnance in honour thereof which gave him such content, that he began a health of a pint of admirable strong wyne to his Majesty of England (causing his secretary to go foarth and see that all that came with me had the same.)

THE 26TH (of July 1613) the old King came to dynner intreating me to pardon his boldness saing he held his time well past in my company. And willed me to hold myself as welcome to Ferando as in my own country, and for that Mr. ADDAMS stayed long if I please he would fit me with a barch of speed to keep the shore between this and the straits of Shimenaseque to see if they could hear of him there, for the wynds westerly was the occasion he came not. I accepted his kindness and dispatched this night SENSABRO DONO, Mr. ADDAMS his hoste thinking the time long till he came. I gave unto his Majesty a fair curtlas hung in a rich heare cullored Taffata Scarp with a deep silver fringe of a hand long garnished with Spangels, a fair gilded headbrush and a cap of curious work in coloured silk.

THE 28th (of July 1613) the young King and the chief of the nobility came with a great train to visit me. I entertained them fitting their worth with a rich banquet and musick which they took great pleasure in. And after their departure AUDACE our landlord laid a wager with me of 10 R. of 8 that Mr. ADDAMS would be here in 4 days, which I accepted of wishing to loose, so he were come, or that there were no such in the country for expecting him I doe nothing but lye at charge.

THE 29TH (of July, 1613) about 10 o'clock before noon

Mr. ADDAMS arrived aboard the Clove and was received with 3 pieces, he had been 17 days coming between Sorongo and Ferando. I sent Mr. COCKS and Mr. PEACOCK in my skiff fitted very comely for him with order to give him 9 pieces more at landing at the English house. Where I received him in the best manner I could for his better grace whereof notice was taken of the country people. And divers were inquisitive I know not for what course whether Ange would lodge in our house. I conferred with him in the presence of Mr. COCKS and the Merchants what encouragement he could give me of trade in these parts. He said that it was not alwaies alike, but sometime better sometimes worse; yet doubted not but we should doe as well as others, saying he would do his best giving so admirable and affectionate commendation of the country as it is generally thought amongst us thus he is a naturalized Japanner. I entreated him to make choice of any chambers in the house and to acquaint the Cook what Dyet he best affected and it should be provided. And Mr. COCKS and who else of the Merchants should at his pleasure accompany him in the town. He intreated me to pardon him he would for 3 or 4 days repair to his cullors which he had put out at an ould windo in a poor house, being a St. Georg made of coarse cloath, neither would admit of any marchant or other to accompany him which unto us all was very strange, yet I would not furthes importune him till more acquaintance praying him to do what he thought best but withall to remember I was alone and should be glad to enjoy his most acceptable company which I had long expected and tyme of year would come on so that I should need his help to confer of the present putting in practice the course of my coming. That I might be ready to

take the first of the N.E. winds to return. He said he would be with me when I pleased to send for him and should not miss of him either at his own house or at the Flemings. And so making a short dynner took his leave, many proffering after he came down to go along in company with him in land, but he entreated the contrary (or some were not well pleased thinking that he thought them not good enough to walk with him).

THE 30TH (of July 1613) in the morning one of the Kings governors was by his orders cut to pieces in the streets being thought to be to familyer with his mother. Also a proper fellow a slave of his died with him seeking to defend his master. I entreated Mr. ADDAMS to dinner aboard the ship where he made little stay, (divers Spaniards and Portingales of Langasague salors being com to vizit him) at his departure shot 5 pieces. These Spaniards as I am credibly informed by the Captain Chinesa have overthrown their General here who was sent out by the King of Spain from Peru (Perowe) to discover to the N. ward of Japan. And have been kept in obscurity by Mr. Addams whom they use as their Jurebasso and host. The Emperor having granted out his warrant to the General for the aprehending of them, but, shifting into several islands they passe. This day ZANZEBAR Mr. ADDAMS host returned having missed of him in the way, whereat the king was so displeased as he would, had I not greatly entreated for him, have banished him, as he which carried my former letter to Mr. Addams was for making no more haste.

THE 31TH (of July 1613) I conferred with the marchants concerning some fit present to be given Mr. ADDAMS whereby he might have some feeling of his brothers. For that no peny

no paternoster in this Age. It was resolved one these parcels  
viz.

	5 Blew Birames	3. $\frac{3}{4}$
4 yards Black Co, No. 169 R 11. $\frac{1}{2}$ ...	10 white Baftas	5.
4 „ Stamet Co, 206 „, 12. 1...	5 Alleiayes	5.
3 fine Chauters „, 3. $\frac{1}{8}$ ...	10 Red Sellas	6.

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	19. $\frac{3}{4}$
R	27. $\frac{1}{2}$

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47. 0

AUGUST THE 1ST there passed nothing only I bestowed there  
things following upon Mr. ADDAMS as present from myself.

2 fine shashes ad valorem	... .. R. 12
4 books fine Calico	... .. 24
1 Tapseel	... .. 7
1 Symmian Chauter...	... .. 8
5 lb. Allowayes Socotrina...	... .. 10
1 Sute Silk Gragrane fair	... .. 30
1 white hat and band	... .. 6
1 very fair Band and Cuffs	... .. 3
1 shirt of fine Holland	... .. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 pair of worsted stockings	... .. 2
1 pair Silk Garters	... .. 2
1 pair Spanish leather slipper...	... .. 1
1 Handkercher of fine Holland	... .. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Turkey carpett	... .. 10

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In requital hereof he bestowed upon me a Salvitarye and

plasterbox for a chirorgion of Meacko ware worth here 6 sh. which I kindly accepted.

THE 2ND (of August 1613) This day Mr. ADDAMS invited to the Dutch house with much entreaty I procured him to tak Mr. COCKS with him, willing him to take notice of the Flemings usage of him which was but ordinary. BROWER desired to have an account of him for certain goods some of their factors had formerly left in his hands to sell at a price and further account of his serving of them. Mr. COCKS said he did not perceive they did greatly respect.

THE 3D (of August 1613) king FOIRNE sent to know of what bulk our king's present to the Emperor was, also what number of people I would take with me, for that he would provide accordingly for my going up in good fashion, both for barke, horses and pallankeens, if I pleased, all at the king's or Emperor's charge. I returned word I would confer with Mr. ADDAMS and then send him word. I sent for Mr. ADDAMS to supper and by much entreaty persuaded him to lye in the house this night that we might confer of our business but many times the Spaniard salors sent for trim with whom his better part was; but went not to them this night. I willed Mr. COCKS to deliver JOHN JAPAN our linguist 10 R. to provide himself of necessaris for the Journey but upon account of his wages. I conferred with Mr. COCKS and the Merchants and Mr. ADDAMS concerning befitting presents pro the Emperour and Chief of his nobility which was concluded of as followeth :

OGOSHOSAMA the Emperor his present :—

1 gilt Bason and yewer p. 64½ C. (ounzes)	...	—
1 black Cloath No. 30 C. 38 yards cost...	...	115. —
1 Stamet Kersie cost	... ..	21. 1.

2 Damasked peeces ... ..	50.	0.
1 piece Cambrick verye fine ... ..	45.	—
1 „ Laune very fine ... ..	45.	—
4 Symian Chauters ... ..	7.	—
5 blew Birammes ... ..	7.	$\frac{1}{2}$
2 very fine shashes ... ..	15.	—
5 pieces very fine Baftas... ..	25.	—
1 perspective glass cast in silver gilt ... ..	6.	—
1 Stave Bowe made at sea ... ..	0.	—
40 shillings in Gould viz. 1 Jacobus 1 soverane		
1 Angell ... ..	10.	—
1 very fair burning glass... ..	2.	—
1 piece Zella for Teletts ... ..	0.	3.

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349.  $\frac{1}{4}$

SHONGO SAMA the Emperors son viz.

1 great standing cup and cover p. 30 ounce		
at 7sh. ounce R... ..	52	$\frac{1}{4}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ a blew cloath No. 97 cost 17£ 10sh. ...	43	3
$\frac{1}{2}$ a lemon cloth No. 99 cost 12. 10sh. ...	33	3
1 dammasked piece cost ... ..	25	0
10 pieces white Baftas... ..	5	
2 pieces Simmian Chauters... ..	3	2
6 „ fine Chauters... ..	7	—
6 „ blue Birammes ... ..	4	2

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CODSKEDONO † the Emp. Secretarie.

1 small gilt cup and cover cost ... ..	28
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$\frac{1}{4}$ of a lemon cloth No. 88 cost ... ..	16	$\frac{1}{4}$
5 Alleiayes ... ..	5	
4 Chauters ... ..	4	3
10 White Baftes ... ..	5	
5 blew Bryams ... ..	3	3

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This present was returned and not taken of him.

SADDA DONO † the King's secretary viz.

1 Gilt cup and cover above said... ..	28	
$\frac{1}{4}$ of a lemon cloth above said ... ..	16	$\frac{7}{8}$
3 Chauters ... ..	3	$\frac{1}{8}$
10 Baftas ... ..	5	
5 Bryams ... ..	3	3
ICOCORA INGA § Judge of Meaco.		
5 yeards Black cloth ... ..	11	$\frac{1}{4}$
4 Byrammes ... ..	3	3
4 Bafta... ..	2	2

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18  $\frac{1}{8}$

To FONGO† dono the Admiral of Orungow viz.

2 Byrammas ... ..	3	3
2 Baftas ... ..	2	2
2 Selas ... ..	2	2
4 Rangins ... ..	1	1
4 Alleyas ... ..	4	—

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14—

To GOTO SHOZANERA† the mintmaster viz.

4 yards black cloath No. 169	...	...	...	...	11	$\frac{1}{2}$
4 „ Stamet „ 206	...	...	...	...	12	1
4 Chauters	...	...	...	...	4	
10 Baftas	...	...	...	...	5	—
5 Byrames	...	...	...	...	3	3
10 Burralls	...	...	...	...	3	2
1 Dastar of 35 R. p. Corge	...	...	...	...	1	3
1 Shash of 29	...	...	...	...	1	2

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44 0

More it was resolved to send in 2 Chestes No. E and F the musters of all our Cambaya cloth as appeares in the wast book. Allso a barrel of Gunpowder p. 48 lb. 1 piece or bar of lead, 2 bars Tin 1 piece of a bar of Steel and one sea chest with divers sorts of commodities to leave at Ozakay to sell by Mr. ADDAM's his advice. Mr. COCKS delivered to Mr. PEACOCK 1 bagg Ryalls of eight containing 500 R. for our expences on the way.

THE 4TH (of August 1613) we did nothing. Mr. ADDAMS having divers Spaniards and Portingales come from Langasaque to vizit him and to see the ship. I sent order aboard to see he were well used and his friends.

THE 5TH (of August 1613) ready to depart the old king came to vizit me and desired me to stay one day longer for that his man was not yet ready, which Mr. ADDAMS was much against not affecting him whom he meant to send with me. But being but upon a matter touching themselves and having found this Japaner his man very honest and

diligent also of good account promised to stay longer if it might do his Majesty any service. I earnestly entreated Mr. **ADDAMS** I might have his Company this night to fit divers businesses being ready to depart and not willing to do anything but with his advice. He intreated pardon for he was invited to a bankett by Spanyards and till morning could not stay withme. Wherefore gave him leave to take his course and make shift with our old linguist as well as can.

**THE 6TH** (of August 1613) King's Gallye was fitted with 25 oars one aside and 40 men. Which I did fit up in a very comely manner with waste clothes, ensigus and all other necessaries, and having taken my leave of the King I went and remained aboard the ship to set all things in order before my departure. (Which done remembrances were left with the master of "the Clove **JAMES FASTER** and the Cape merchang **RICHARD COCKS**. Both are inserted, but are of no interest except a passage in the letter to **COCKS**: "You will in all matters ashore so manage as there shall appear no difference between us and the Flemings.")

The old King sent me 100 Tayes acquainting it was the best coin to carry up with me for expences by the way desirint payment but in the like. . . . .

**THE 27TH** (of August 1613) we arrived at Ozaca.

**THE 28TH** at night departed by bark from Ozaca to Fushamie.

**THE 29TH** at night arrived at Fushami.

**THE 30TH** took horse at the King's charge for Sorongo having 19 horse.

**SEPTEMBER THE 6TH** (1613) we arrived at Sorongo in the morning very early.

THE 8TH (of September 1613) I delivered the Emperor the King of England letter and his present. Also a present from myself of my one goods being as Mr. ADDAMS said the fashion of the country. The particulars were viz. 1 fair large satin quilt 1 fair silk carpet 1 shash 2 pieces Orring Tawnye staffs 4lb. Alloways Socotrina 3 very fair Holland napkins very curiously wrought..

THE 9TH (of September, 1613) delivered the Secretary his present which was returned saying it were as much as his life were worth if he should take anything the Emperor having forbidden him, yet he accepted of 5lb. Alloways Socotorina. I delivered him the articles or demands to be granted by the Emperor which he desired might be abbreviated.

THE 10TH the articles abbreviated I sent them by Mr. ADDAMS to the Secretary which were delivered the Emperor who liked well thereof.

THE 11TH I delivered the mintmaster his present.

THE 12TH I sent Mr. ADDAMS to the mintmaster with a particular of our commodities and the prices thereof to be delivered to the Emperor viz. :—

Tin the pecull	30	Tais.	} Broadcloth, Kersies & Callico as they were in Goodness.
Olliant's teeth per p.	80	"	
Ordinance p. pecull	6	"	
Pouder p. "	23	"	
Alloways Catty	6	"	
Fouling pieces p. picull	20	"	

And towards noon departed for Edo to the young King's Court the Emperor furnishing me with 19 horse and 6 men for my pallankeen ; which were changed at every 6 or 10 miles as we shafted horses and if there were any hills in the way 10 men to the Palankeen.

THE 14TH (of September, 1613) I arrived at Edo.

THE 17TH I delivered the King his present and another from myself viz. 1 very fair Turkey carpet 1 shash 1 piece Tapsel and 1 piece white Brayne.

THE 21ST I took boat from Edo to Oringane to peruse the harbor and to have bargained with Mr. ADDAMS for the hull of a ship which was the Spaniards also to look upon certain wares of Meaco which he had there of the Spaniards to sell whereof we bought for the Company viz. 1 case of trunks, two great scritoryes, eight beobs two small scritoryes and a trimming box. The ship he asked 100 £ pro. and would abate nothing which to our Judgement was very dear.

THE 22, 23 and 24TH (of September 1613) We remained at Oringau. It was thought fitting and was bestowed upon mistris ADDAMS for a present in regard of her husbands kindness these parcels.

One silver and gold cup p 6 ounces at 7sh. pr. 0.R.	10	5
1 piece of Bafta of 10 R. per Corge	...	0 5
2 pises of Byrams at 15 R.p...	...	1 5
		<hr/>
	12	4

more to Mr. ADDAMS his wyfessister and their mother.

1 piece of Bafta	...	0	5	} 5½
1 " "	...	3		
1 " " Red Sellas at 10 R p Corge.	1			

THE 25TH (of September 1613) I departed from Oroungau for Sorongo.

29TH we arrived at Sorongo back from Edo.

OCTOB. 8TH the Secretary sent me the Emperors letter to the King of England acquainting me that there was mention of 10 biobus for a present in another paper by itself which should

be delivered me at Meacko. Mr. ADDAMS procured the letter to be translated the Coppy whereof followeth :

(Rundall, p. 151).

I allso received the Emperor's priveleges for Trade in Japan the translation whereof followes :

(Rundall, p. 153—155).

THE 9TH (of October 1613) we departed from Sorongo.

THE 16TH I came to Meaco where I remained for the Emperor's present to the King of England until the 19th ditto.

THE 20TH we departed from Meaco and came at night to Fusheme.

THE 21ST (of October 1613) about noon arrived at Ozaka.

THE 24TH (of October 1613) at night we all embarked for Ferando. The Kings gally ever since she landed me here having stayed for me at the King of Firando's charge.

NOV-THE 6TH I arrived at Firando about 10 of the clock in the morning and had 7pieces ordnance at entering aboard and 5 pieces at going ashore to the English house Mr. ADAMS and his brother-in-law in company with me.

THE 7TH (of November 1613) for the most part I spent complimenting with the King and nobles of their place and bestowed certain presents upon them according to the country's fashion as more at large appears in a Journal written by Mr. COCKS for me. I importuned the old King for his letter to the King of England the time requiring haste which he promised should be ready out of hand. I obtained of him a boat of speed and sent Mr. ADDAMS in her to Langasaque to make search for aur Runaaways hearing intelligence that they two were there with a present to the bungio of the City for his favour and

speedy serch of them. But understanding them to be gone for the Manelys or Maccaue to return the present again.

THE 8TH (for November 1613) Mr. ADDAMS departed for Langasaque with Mr. WICKHAM in company with him. I promised passage to one GEORGE PRETERSON a Flushingier for his country who had served the Spanyards 24 years and having well to take to desired to go for his country. He was a sailor and of fair carriage.

THE 10 and 11TH nothing of worth only the Emperor's present to the king of England was laden aboard being 10 Beobes or pictures after the Country fashion.

THE 12TH (of November 1613) Mr. ADDAMS returned without our fugiatives they being not long before gone for the Philippenas and Mackaue in the Spanyards and Portugals ship.

THE 14TH (of November 1613) it was certainly proved that Mr. ADDAMS his man which was our Jurebasso and Cater for the house did most unreasonably cozen us and in one parcel of wyne bought for the house got 21 masse.

THE 15TH (of November 1613) in friendly manner I acquainted Mr. ADDAMS in the presence of Mr. COCKS of his man's dishonest and villainous dealing being put in trust and to cheat us so unreasonable. He took it very evil that his servant should be so thought of and so highly took his part as by the persuation of Mr. COCKS I did not say further but gave order to Mr. COCKS to let him go no more to market for us. This not being the first by many times as Mr. COCKS tells me he has found him faulty therein.

THE 17TH (of November 1613) GEORGE PEETERSON did willingly exchange with Mr. COCKS 2120 Tais Japan money for Royals, the Tay rated at 10 masse and the R. at 8 masse,

which saved the Company 5 per cent. And Mr. Cocks, cleared with Mr. ADDAMS for moneys let us upon the way and merchandize bought at Oruoungaue in Japan coin as we received it of him (and as the King had and did since my retone proffer to lend me money at the same rate) yet he took it not well that he was not payed in R. and allowed 5 per cent exchange which I hold unreasonable. The King demanding no profit neither the Flemings and the bars as good and better silver these we had of him.



## APPENDIX II.

### ADAMS' LETTERS.

Among the "Original Correspondence" at the India Office there are still preserved nine letters in Captain WILLIAM ADAMS' hand written in Japan. Five of them (besides a large fragment of a lost letter) have been published by THOMAS RUNDALL in his volume "Memorials of the Empire of Japon in the XVI and XVII centuries" printed for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1850.† Letter No III of that publication is repeated here, because it gives ADAMS' view about the chances of English trade with Japan and because its edition is not so complete and accurate as it ought to be. I add four yet unpublished letters of the first Englishman in Japan and an interesting newly discovered letter of WICKHAM showing clearly how the simple and straightforward helpmate of the Hirado factory was at the same time used and abused, trusted and distrusted, by his newly arrived countrymen.

#### NO. I.

To my assured good frind *Augustin Spalding*, in Bantam,  
decliuer this, per a good frind *Thomas Hill*, whom God  
preserue.

*Lavs dei: written in Japan in ye Iland of Ferrando,*  
*the 12 of Jeneuari 1613.*

My good and louing friend: I do imbolden my self to

† From RUNDALL's publication "the original letters of the English Pilot, WILLIAM ADAMS, written from Japan between A.D. 1611 and 1617" have been reprinted in the "Japan Gazette" and in a little pamphlet edited by the "Japan Gazette" Office at Yokohama 1878.

wrytt theess feaw lines vnto you in which I do hartylly sallute me vnto you with all the rest of my good country men with you, with hope of your good health, which God long continew : as I prayss God I am at this present, etc.

Your ffrindly and Christian letter I hau receued by the Hollanders which be heer arriued this yeer 1612,<sup>†</sup> by which I do vnder stand that you have receued my letter which I sent by Peetter Johnnssoon,<sup>‡</sup> of which I am veri glad, hoping yt my poor wyf and friendes shall heer I am alyve. For vnto this present ther hath not coum to ye hands of my frinds anny letter of myne : being by the Hollanders intercepted alwayes : for by the company of thees ship I haue sertain newes of trewth yt it is exprsressley forbid by the Winthabers so called, or Indish Company, yt they shall carri nor bring anny letters in no manner of wayes : for by both thees shipes I have had diuers letteers sent me by my wyf and other good frinds out of England and Holland, but feaw coum to my hand and thoo as yt I hau receued the most part were 2 lettrs which cam from London by the convayance of the Gloob of London, which arriued at Pattania with Brasil to dye with all . . . . . commodities the which is heer arriued : which 2 lettrs, the on is from *the honourable Sir Thomas Smith*, and on from my good frind John Stokle, soum tym on of the [. . . .]. Thees 2 lettrs hau not bin oppened, but a 40 or 50 dayes detayned from mee, etc.

You shall *understand* by the letter of Sr. Thomass Smith, he hath written that he will send a ship heer in Japan to

<sup>†</sup> The Dutch ship "Leeuw met Pijlsn" arrived at Hirado in August 1612.

<sup>‡</sup> It was a Dutchman and traded on his own account from Japan to Bantam.

establish a *facktori*, of which, yf yet may be profit I shalbe most glad: of which newes I told the Emperour thearof, and told him yt in ye next yeer the kinges mati. of England would send his imbashador with mony and marchandiz to trad in his country: and of the certenti theeof I had receued newes. At which hee wass verry glad, and rejoyced that strange nacions had such good oppinion: with many other good speches. Now, my good frind, if it so fall out that on of our country shipes do coum heer to traffick thear has not been and shall not be a nation more welcoum. And this I do inseur you of, for it is in my power to do it, I doo prayss God for it: who hath geuen me fauor with the Emperour, and good will to me, so farr as that I may boldly say our country men shalbe so welcoum and free in coumparisson as in the riuer of London.

And now to the purposs. I feear yt theer wilbe no profit, which is principally: for ye coumodeties of our countri are heer good cheep, yt is cloth; for by reason of the ship that comes from Novo Spaynia of the on party and the Hollanders on the other party, hath made the priss ef cloth so good chep as in England. An 8 or 9 years ago cloth was very deer, but now verry chep. Now the coumodities yt yê bring from Holland are theess: cloth, leed, still [*steel*], louking glasses, drinking glasses, dansk flask-glasses, amber, dieeper and holland, with other things of small importance. First of ther cloth no profit: leed at about 4d.the £., or lees, 3d. the which is no profit; steel 6d the £. and other things of small profit. By ye way [. . . . .] them bring peper, the priss thearof 40s. the 100l.; clouess 5£. starlinge the 100l. and elepuants teeth have prissee heer good cheap at and the priss they sell them for. The ship that coums from Pattania bring camfer of all prisses, damas,

taffety, velvett, satten, Brassill to dye with. All other china coumodities the which is not sartain becass soum tyme good cheep, and soum yeer deer [. . . . .] of Chinas good they make great proffit at first. As the shipes coum lade, so they go away much deeper lade, for heer *they* lad thear shipes with rise, fish, bisket, with diuers other prouisions, monicion [*muni-tion*], marriners, sojoures, and svch lyk, so that in respekt of the warres in Mollowcouss [*Moluccas*] Japan is verry profittable vnto them; and yf the warres do continew in ye Mollucous with a traffick they haue heer wilbe a great scourge vnto ye Spaynnards, etc.

Now my good frind: can our English marchants get the handelling or trad with the Chinas, then shall our countri mak great profit, and the worshippful Indiss Company of London shall not hau ned to send monny out of England, for in Japan is gold and siluer in aboundance, for with the traffick heer they shall hau monny to serue theerneed; I mean in the Indiss, etc.

The Hollandes be now settled and I hau got them that priuilledg as the Spaynnards and Portingalles could neuer gett in this 50 or 60 yeers in Japan, etc.

This yeer 1612 the Spaynnards and Portingalles hau evssed me as an instrument to gett there liberty in the manner of the Hollandes, but vppon consideration of farther inconvenience I hau not sought it for them.

It hath plessed God to bring things to pass, so as in ye eyes of ye world [*must seem*] strange: for the Spaynnard and Portingall hath bin my bitter ennemis, to death; and now theay must seek to me an vnworth wr[*et*]ch: fo the Spaynard as well as the Portingall must haue all their negosshes [*negociations*] go thorough my hand. God hau ye prayse for it, etc.

The charges in Japan are not great: onlly a preissent for

ye Emperour and a pressent for ye Kinge, and 2 or 3 other pressents for the Secretaris. Other coustoumes here be nonn. Now once, yf a ship do coum, lett her coum for the esterly part of Japan, lying in 35d. 10m. whear the Kinge and ye Emperour. court is: for coum our ships to Ferando whear the Hollanders bee, it is farr to ye court, about 230L., a very soun way and foul. The citti of Edo lyeth in 36, and about this esterly part of the land thear be the best harbors and a cost so cleer as theayr is no sholdes nor rokes  $\frac{1}{2}$  a myll from the mayn land. It is good also for sale of marchandis and security for ships, forr which cass I haue sent a pattron [*? pattern card, or chart*] of Japan,\* for which my self I hau been all about the cost in the shipping that I have made for ye Emperour, that I hau experyence of all yt part of ye cost that lyeth in 36d, etc.

Now my good frind: I thank you for your good writting and frindly token of a byble and 3 other boukes. By your letter I vnderstand of ye death of many of my good frinds in the barbarous country of Barbary: for which death, and los of goods I am heartelie sorry. Nevertheles it is ye lot of all flesh: in this lyf manny trobelles and affixcions, and in the end death. Thearfor it is a blessed thing to dy in the Lord, with a faithfull trust in God: for theay rest from theer labores, etc.

In this land is no strange newes to sertify you of: the whool being in peace: the peopell veri subiect to thear gouernours and superiores: also in thear relligion veri zelloas, or superstitious, hauing diuers secttes, but praying all them secttes, or the most part, to one saynt which they call AMEEDA: which they esteem to bee their mediator between God and them: all thees sectes liuing in frindship on with an

\* This map is not preserved.

other, not [. . . . .] on an other, but everi on as his conscience teacheth. In this land are many Christians according to ye romishe order. In the yeer 1612 is put downe all the sects of the Franciscannes. The Jesouets hau what priuiledge by reason of antiquity theare beinge in Nangasaki many, in which place only may be so manny as will of all sectes : in other places not manny permitted. In justis very seuer, hauing no respecte of persons. Theer cittis gouerned with greatt ciuility and in lou : for ye most part nonn going to lawe on with an other ; but yf questiones be bettween naybour and naybour, it is by justiss coummanded to be pressently taken vp, and frindship to be mad with out dellay. No theef for ye most part put in prisson, but pressently executed, No murther for ye most part can escap : for yf so bee yt yt murtherer cannot be found, ye Emperour coumands a proclimacion with a wryting, and by ye writting so mvch gold as is of vallew 300 l. starlinge ; and yf anny do know whear ye murtherer is, he cooms and receueth the gold, and goeth his way with out anny further troubell. Thus for the lukar of so moech monny it coumes to light. And their citties you may go all ower in ye night with out any trobell or perrill, being a peepell [*well affected*] to strangers : ye lawe much lyk the Jud [. . . . .] truth. Thus by the way, in hast I hau imboldned [*I myself*] to writ somewhat of ye coustome and manners, etc.

If it bee yt thear coum a ship neer vnto the estermost part, let them inquir for me. I am called in the Japann ronge ANGIN SAMMA. By that nam am I knowen all the sea cost allonge, and feear not to coom neer the mayn, for you shall haubarkes with pillotts yt shall carry you whear you will ; and coumes thear a ship heer, I hope the wourshipfull coumpanie shall find me

to bee a saruant or yr saruants to seru them in such a manner as they shalbe satisfied of my serucs. Thus yf occasion serveth, I pray wryt my hombell sallutacion to ye wourshipfull Sr. Thomass Smyth; and conserning his Christian charity and greate lou in lending my wyf 20l. starlling, God I hope will reward him; and I am, and shalbe allwayes reddey to make paiment to whoum he shall apoynt me. I pray yt capptaiu Stippon, capptain of the Gllobe pass by you I pay him to mak known in England to my frinds, that I am in good health, and I trust in God errlong to gett leaue from the Emperour to get out of this country to my frinds agayne. Thus with this my poor request do I imbold my seclf to troubell you. Had I known our English shipes hade trade with the Indiss, I had long a (*go*) troubled you with wrytting; but the Hollanders hau kept it most secreteet from me tell the yeere 1611, which wass the first newes yt I heerd of the trading of our shipes in the Indiss. I would gladdly a sent soum small token in signe of good will vnto you, but at this present no conuenient messadg [*? message, or opportunity of sending*].) For thes ships ass theay saye go no far (*ther*) as the Mollocouss etc. thear to abyde to defend the Islands against the Spaynnard which will yf he can gett the whool Muloccons in his coummand. Thus with my coummendacion only, and to all my countrimen, I beque (*ath*) you and your affares to the tuicion of God, who blless and keep you in body and soull from all your ennemys for euer and euer.

Your vnwourthe frind yet assnred to coumand,

WILLIAM ADDAMS,

I hau writt 2 letters all in one maner, so yt yf on coumes to your hand I shall be glad.†

† India Office, Original Correspondence, Vol. I., No. 97. (Cal. of State Papers, Vol. I., No. 630.

## No. II.

(Capt. William Adams to Richard Wickham at Yedo.)

Ferando, the 26 of July 1614.

Loving and my veari good friend my hartty sallutacions unto you.

You shall understand that I with Mr. Etton arrived in Ferando the 21 of Julli whear thankes be to God found Mr. Cocks and Mr. Nellosonn and Edmon Sarris in good heealth who weear verri glad of our Coumming, etc. Since my coumging heether wee have heerd verri bad news from Cochichinna of Mr. Peecock which as we hecir is kild with all the Holanders that were in Coumpani to Cochinna (sic!). As wee herir the king bought all the goods of Mr. Pecok and of the Holanders; esspecially the cloth, and a littell befor thear beeing redi too depart the king send for them and having dispatched being imbarked to return in a small boat, the King send a great boat in thear Coumpani who followed the litel boat and with fors ren against the littell boat and overthrew her that shee did sink, and swimming in the watter the Cochichinnas cout them all into peeeces. Now Walter he went not a land but tarried in the Jounk which I hoop is allive which God grant. We have heerd that the King has commanded to search (?) all the Joonkes to seek for Walter now whether they have found him heir is no sartayne news. Now you shall understand that I am about a Jounk to prosseed and if it shall pleais God for Siam which I hope about a 3 months henvo I shall be reddi to depart which God grant. Now other news heer is nonebut such as you know of long agoo as of Foyn death and of a ship that is coum from Makau to Langasake with 60 or 70 Chinas younks. Now heer is news coum that there is 20 ssayless of



Hoolanders about Manillia with 2 or 3 English ships which yf be trew will do no good at Manillia befor thear departure. Now you shall understand counserning the Reekning betweinn you and me Mr. Cocks hath toold me that you hav writtenn to him not a wourd therof; therefore I pray send by John Febe that you wear indetted to me at my departure from you the 27 of May 1872 masses 1 carnd, and given to your man stooich 1000 geunt cost 23 mass pick gens and for a chist and roops and charges cam all to 30 m. and John Febem I gave him money to carri him to Osaka his charges cam to 33 mass and 6 cander. Both at

1872—1	{	this Reekning I pray send Mr. Cocks of the trewth thearof the charges which I have laid out from Eddo hereto Fernando Amountthe
C 30— your man		
C 33—6 John Febe		
Amounteth 1935—7		

Amounteth 0337— which particulars I have given to Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ Cocks, so that the

whole is 2272—7. Now I pray send 2 or three words to Mr. Cocks that at my departure to Siam I may cleer myself of all accounts. Thus with my hartti sallutacion to you your ost and osten, I coumit you to the protescion of the most hy who blesse you in this lyf and in the lyf to coum Amen

Your unwourthi friend to Coumand in  
that I cann

Wm. Addames.

This day is arrived 2 ships, Holanders which be coum from the Moulacass, and from Pattan strange newes theay bringe noun.

To his assured good friend Mr. Richard Wickcoum this  
del.

in Eddoo

p. the Concoeyanc of Johne Febe whooum God presserve.\*

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No III.

(Capt. William Adams to Richard Wickham at Yedo.)

In Sourangawa § the 29 of October, 1615.

Laus dei.

Loving and my very good friend Mr. Wickcam being here in Souranga arrived on ovr beffor my coming I found John Febe returned from Miaco with divers letters from Fiando and Miaco and amongst which leter I came to send to you the which the leter having no good means I thought good to send an expressy unto you with them. You friendly letter to me I thank you and for your others I will deliver them particular to them that you have directed to. I have received a letter particular about the abuse wich Captain Moor has offered to Damian marin and John de Leviano in keeping them in irons, with express order to make it known to the Emperor, the which with Gods help shall be accomplished: Your memori I have received which I will follow your directions without fail. Therefore in that case take no carre. Concerning your recovering your debts in Edo if it be possible end it without going to Law, for the Jappane merchants seing extremity used will be afraid to deel with us. Therefore for our farther Credit with them if it be with some small loss end with them I write this but by the way being in my judgment what will in the end be best. Having no order from the Captain allways provided these things concern you. Therefore

\* India Office, Original Correspond. vol. II., No. 157. (Cal of State Papers vol. I., No. 753.)

§ Suruga i.e. Shizuoka.

use your discretion therein what you think best that may further the honourable and worshipful Company in the end. Your letter to Keedotia our host Stebio I have delivered but the 5 pieces of gold he has as yet not paid me but paying me I will give him a receipt under my hand. Thus not having any farther to write you of for this present I cease with my hearty commendations leaving you to the protection of the allmighty god of his merci send us a joyful meeting Amen.

Your friend in what I am

to command William Adams.

Mr. Eaton in Miaco has sold some 400 tails of goods I would you could sell also for our Captain hatt need of money etc. I have received the Secretaries letter to Saffedonno about the release of Damian and John de Levano. †

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No. IV.

(Capt. William Adams to Richard Wickham at Hirado.)

1617 in Osaka the 14 of October.

Loving and my very good friend Mr. Wickham

my harty salutation. Remembered upon occasion of business I have been forced to go to Meaco (for the) changing of money also to speak with your ost (sic!) Groubstreet to recover the money which he oweth to the Capt.† But I can not once speak with him, much less receive any money. Thus being in Meaco I went to the makeman to see if your things were done and to hasten him with Mr. Eaton's because his

† India Office, Orig. Corr. vol. III., No. 307. (Ca<sup>l</sup>. of State Papers vol. I., No. 1045.)

† i.e. RICHARD COCKS, with whom ADAMS was returning from a journey to Court.

departure will be before yours. But it seems his purpose is not the one with the other. I can not say that he is negligent; he has 50 men at woourk which work night and day. (I have his) faithful promise that the last of this mounth november§ he will be (finished) without fail etc. Your caudlesticks were not made when I was in Meaco, but Skingero promised within 2 days after my departure to send them which tyme is past. I had thought to have sent them by my man Jinkechi, being not done I thought to send him away with such money as I had received which is not much but 2000 tais, etc.

Your kattanna‡ I have had with me to Meaco to see and if I could sell it and caused it to be looked by them which have knowledge. And the blade is new and is not worth 8 tais as they told me so that with the gold and all it is worth 70 or 80 tais at the most, upon which occasion I thought it good to send it you by Jeinkeich (sic'.) lest I should come to late etc.

I have given order to Jeinkeichi that at bingen (Bingo?) Omno (Onomichi?) he should enquire what wine or other things, should take it in to bring it allong with him etc.

I have ended with b.....Yoychero and have sent the Capt. the reckning. If there be any error you may see it. 14 peecces .....received which if I can sell it is weell, if not I will (bring them) with me.

This having not further to write at this present, I cese with

§ SAINSBURY infers from the phrase "this mounth november," that "this letter is dated October by mistake" and dates it on November 14th. But from the letter of November 10th, 1617 (No. V.), it is clear, that the date of this one must be previous. Adams in quoting the promise of the Japanese artisan meant by November the ninth month of the Japanese calendar i.e. for 1617 the time from the 30th of September to the 9th of October. Within 15 days from writing he was promised to receive the things ordered for his friends.

‡ This had been presented to Wickham by Mikawa no Kami a nephew of the Shogun.

heartly salutation to you, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Nealson, Mr. Osterwick, Mr.——the rest of my countrimen. I hop ere long to see you ; tell that time I recommend you to the protection of the allmighty.

Yours in what I can to command.

W. Addames.

Per my servant Jinkeichi.†

No. V.

(Capt. William Adams to Richard Wickham at Hirado.)

1617 in Sakaye the 10 of November.

Loving friend Mr. Wickham.

My hearty salutation. Remember that I have sent by the bearer 17 sundry parcels of contores and scrittores marked with R. W. the freight of them I pray pay to the Master, how much it is my man Jeinkeich (sic!) will certify how much. I have been at Meaco and talked with the makeman who hath promised that in short tym he will a (sic! for "have") dooun. He hath 50 men that work night and day, that so far as I see hee doath his indever. Your kandellsticks when I wass in Meacco wear not dooun, but promised me in two or 3 days after to send them me, but as yeet I hav not receved them. Your.....if you have bought any I have geven order to Jenkechee to bring with him. Your other business you willed me I hav dooun both to Omann and the man who giveth you many thanks. Thus having not farther (news) this present to write you I cease praying for your prosperitie.

Your friend in what I can to command.

W. Addames.

† India Office, Orig. Corresp. vol. V., No. 575. (Col. of State Papers. vol. II., No. 195.)

Your Inro or metsin boxe Skinro told me he would sent it me from Meaco the which if he do I will send it you or bring it you myself. I pray sollut me to all my children and countrymen.

W. A.

Per my man Jinkoichi.†

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No. VI.

(Richard Wickham to Richard Cocks at Hiroda.)

[1614 May] Yedo.

Loving friend Mr. Cocks.

I heartily commend me etc.

Your letter of the prime April I have received, wherein I perceive the Jesuits' pretences against Capt. Adams which ! I hope God will with the rest of us protect, howsoever his will be foreever done.

Since which time I wrote by the *Tono's* men of Firando of all occurrence unto the present date thereof which I hope you have received desiring you to pardon my boldness in writing, for I was much grieved to see our business go no better forward by reason of the late coming of the *Foone* whereby I perceived all our sales of Broadcloth for this year to be hindered the Dutch having furnished in the meantime all such as sought unto me. Wherein I cannot tell what to think or speak of Capt. Ad(ams) his counsell given you herein but I much suspect playing of both sides for I am credibly informed by Merchants that have continual trade for Nangasaque that there was no other liklyhood of a more speedy arrival, wherein they

† India Office, Orig. Corresp. vol. V., No. 562. (Cal. of State Papers vol. II. No. 190.)

say that those that did persuade us to bring such goods by sea as Broadcloth and Ropa which might have come by land did not will to so advise us neither do the Dutch the like at any time, sending all by land, wherein this last cloth being eight horses' lading besides as much more which came from Osakay has made a voyage from Firando in 19 days unto this place. Nevertheless I have said little herein, because I knew not how to remedy it, only it will serve for a caveat against the next occasion, hoping that you will not speak hereof to any man, concerning my opinion shewn you herein (which I am bound in duty and for our credit's sake to do) lest that the bag of patience itself be broken and sincerity itself called into question whereby he put of the hinges which I am assured he desires.

Notwithstanding all those contracts is has pleased God to send our bark or *Foone* to arrive in safety, thanks be to God, the 15th of this present, so that as yet we have not landed all our goods, the ordinance and munition by reason of bad weather and southest (sic!) winds having hindered us. Nevertheless I hope within 2 or 3 days to have all ashore and the lead weighed and delivered to the Emperor his officers here at Edo according to the order he gave us at our being at Surungana, whereupon Capt. Adams is not to stay a day longer but carrying the hogshed of Galls along with him, as Goto Sosabra gave me order, to send them and there to conclude upon the sales of the ordinance, which I have not forborne to be instant with Capt. Adams for procuring the sale of them which I tell him will be a great shame unto us in Regard we have been at so great charge hitherto lying still and doing nothing of importance. I have, since our cloth landed sold one whole Broadcloth by the lump being wolklys (?) Black No. 57 quoted (?)

per Invoice 33, but made *Tatamee* of Meaco 15½ which being as the most of them are vilely eaten all over the midst of the cloth with wormholes cleane through, whereof being the first that I shewed and to merchants that stayed of purpose the coming thereof so that to put it of I sold it per 14 *Tatamees* at 120 Mas per tatame amounting unto 1680 mas which is 42£ st. The cloth being most coarse for a cloth of 19£ price.

As Capt. Adams knoweth who was present at the sale thereof India cloth I have sold about a corge of several sorts but have not as yet received one peny for anything but I am so persuaded both by Capt. Adams (here a few words seem to be missing) that if I either deny any merchant of credit to forbear him over 30 dayes, I must of necessity keep the goods and not sell one mas thereof. The Dutch doth and hath used the merchants of this place to help him to put of his cloth by letting them have a cloth or two in their shops to sell allowing them some small profit which is continnal custom here and therefore against the order you have given me most directly. So that I know not how to doe herein until you further advise me which with conference had with Capt. Adams you may please to determine what shall be fittest for the benefit of our Employers whose Designs God of his mercy prosper.

And if Capt. Adams can procure the Emperor to take the ordinance I am determined to send a man along with him for to bring such money as shall to be lent the governors\* (sic!) of Firando who is still importune, as best to bring such goods as I left in the hands of myne host at Surungaua, for that whensoever you shall see it necessary to call me from this place I may leave all the goods in hands of one man which is mine host at Edo, a man of good wealth and credit and is well reported of,



called Migmoya Gemdono, dwelling neare unto Nepon Bass in the midst of the City of Edo neare upon.

Thus in haste I commit you to God, resting

Your loving friend, always to command.

Ric. Wickham.

Per Sansaburow the Dutch Jurabasso or linguist.

Post scriptum.

The time I have to write is so short, otherwise I would have written unto Mr. Nelson unto whom I pray you comend me and to the rest of all our friends there.†

† India Office, China 15, Wickham's Copybook. p. 3 ff.

### APPENDIX III.

#### “THE ORIGINAL PRIVILEGES.”

It has been stated in the foregoing paper (Chapter II) that Captain SARIS was requested by IYEFASU's Secretaries to draft a Petition in which the privileges he desired were precisely enumerated. Of this Petition we still possess the English Original and two facsimile copies of a Japanese translation. The English version is preserved in the British Museum among the Cotton Charters (Press Mark III, 13.) Of the Japanese translation a copy with the name of the petitioner has been published in PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMMAGES vol. I. p. 376 (London 1624.) It is the earliest specimen of Japanese writing ever published in England. Another facsimile copy (without SARIS' name) is preserved in the Historiogeographical Bureau of the Imperial University of Tokyo and is here reproduced. This Petition was, however, found too lengthy by the highest officers of IYEFASU. An abridged second draft (not preserved) had to be prepared, on which the Charter of Privileges was eventually based. A genuine translation of the Charter is here given for the first time, in juxtaposition with the Japanese Original under No. 3.) and 4.) What has been brought home by SARIS as “The Translation of the Emperor of Japan's Privileges” and has since been repeatedly published and once (in RUNDALL's book) even facsimilised is no Translation at all, but an arbitrary and judiciously modified Paraphrase of the

original Petition, as will appear at once from a comparison of the two versions given here side by side under No. 1.) and 2.) For the convenience of the reader the more important deviations of the authentic document and its counterpart are marked by *italics* :

## No. 1.

## SARIS' PETITION.

October 7th.

Serongo in Japon.

The *copie* of such privileges as were demanded of the Emperor of Japon by General SARIS *in the name of the King's Majesty of England* for trade in Japon which were accordingly granted. As per the charter written in the Japanese language and sealed with his grand zeal appeareth viz.

Imprimis that his Majestie would be pleased to grant free license to all the subjects of the King of England, that they may for ever safely come into any his ports and kingdoms of Japon with their ships and merchandize without any hindrance to them or their goods, and do abide, bye, sell and exchange according to their own manner with all nations whatsoever; and to tarry as long as they will and depart at their pleasure.

And that all such merchandize as they have or hereafter shall bring into this kingdom or shall transport to any foreign part to be free

## No. 2.

## THE ALLEGED PRIVILEGES :

The *Transtation* of the Emperor of Japon's Privileges: granted in the name of *the right honoured knight, Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the East India Company.*

Imprimis we give free license to the King of Englands subjects, *Sir Thomas Smith, Governor, and Company of the East India Merchants,* for ever: safely to come into any our ports or Empire of Japon with their ships and merchandize without any hindrance to them or their goods, and to abide, buy, sell and barter according to their own manner with all nations; and to tarry as long as they will and depart at their pleasure.

Item—We grant unto them free custom of all such merchandize as they have, or hereafter shall bring into our kingdom, or shall transport to

of all customs whatsoever; and that the hereafter ships may make present sale of their commodities without further *order* or sending up to his Majesty.

Item if their ships shall be in danger to be lost and perish and shall stand in need of his subjects' help, that command may be given to assist them. And that *he would give a sufficient platt of ground to build upon the same houses to be at the disposing of the Cape Merchant* to make sale of at their departure out of the country.

Item if any of them depart this life he to whom the Cape Merchant shall say his goods belong shall possess the same. And for any offence committed by them that the justice of this land take no hold either of their persons nor goods but to be referred to the said Cape Merchant's discretion.

Item that all bargains made by them shall be firm and that no man return their wares, but pay for them according to agreement.

Item to grant for himself and his heirs, that all such merchandizes as are meet for his service that no arrest may be made thereof, but to give present account at such prices as the merchants could sell them for ready money.

Item that in discovery of

any foreign part; and do by these presents authorize the hereafter ships to make present sale of their commodities without further *coming*, or sending up to our Court.

Item—if their ships shall be in danger to be lost and perished, we will that ye, our subjects, not only assist them, but *what shall be saved, to return it to the captain, merchant, or their assigns*; and that ye permit them to build in any part of our Empire where they think fittest; and at departure to make free sale of their house, or houses, at their pleasure.

Item if any of them shall die in these our dominions, the goods of the deceased shall be at the dispose of the Cape Merchant, and all offences committed by them, shall be at the said merchant's discretion to punish; and our law to take no hold, either of their persons, or goods.

Item—We will, that ye, our subjects, trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them according to agreement without delay, or return of their wares.

Item—all such their merchandize which at present, or hereafter shall be brought meet for our service, we will, that no arrest be made thereof; but that present payment be made, and at such prices as the Cape Merchant can at present sell them for.

Item—We will that in dis-

any other places of trade or return of our own ships that they shall have need of either men or victuals for accomplishing thereof, That Command may be given that they may be furnished thereof as their needs shall require upon reasonable satisfaction without any other further trouble. And that his Majestie will grant his free pass for Eadso, an Island neere adjoining his Dominions yet unknown.

JO SAYRES.†

covery of any other places of trade, or return of their ships, they should have need of men or victuals, that ye, our subjects, furnish them for their money as their need shall require.

And that *without any further pass*, they should set out and go in discovery for Yeadzo, or any other part in or about our Empire.

*From our Castle in Sorongo This first day of the 9th month and in the 18th year of our Dary according to our computation. Sealed with our brand seal.*

MINNA MOTTONO YEIYE  
'YEAS. §

† Cotton Charters III. 13. A Japanese Copy printed in Suganuma, book p. 515, is dated 18 Keicho 8th month 4th day (18, September 1613.)

§ RUNDALL, p. 152. The Japanese date would correspond to October 14th 1613.

The Japanese Charter, based on an abridgement of this Petition runs as follows :—

4.) Translation.

1) The ship that has now for the first time come from England over the sea to Japan may carry on trade of all kinds without hindrance. With regard to future visits (of English ships) permission will be given in regard to all matters.

2.) With regard to the cargoes of ships, requisitions will be made by list according to the requirements of the Shogunate.

3.)

— イギリスより日本へ今度初て渡海の船萬商賣方の義無相違可仕候渡海仕付ては諸般可令免許事

— 船中の荷物の義は用次第に目録にて可召寄事

- 3.) (English ships) are free to visit any port in Japan. If disabled by storms, they may put into any harbour. — 日本の内何の澳へ成共著岸不可有相違若難風に逢帆損な補何の浦へ寄候共異儀有之間敷事
- 4.) Ground in the place in Yedo which they may desire shall be given to the English, and they may erect houses and reside and trade there. They shall be at liberty to return to their country whenever they wish to do so, and to dispose as they like of the houses they have erected. — 江戸に於て望の所に屋敷可遣之間家を立致居住商賣可仕候歸國の儀は何時にてもイギリス人可任心中立置候家はイギリス人可爲儘事
- 5.) If an Englishman dies in Japan of disease, or any other cause, his effects shall be handed over without fail. — 日本の内にてイギリス人病死なご仕候は、其者の荷物無相違可遣事
- 6.) Forced sales of cargoes and violence shall not take place. — 荷物おしひひ狼藉仕間敷事
- 7.) If one of the English should commit an offence, he shall be sentenced by the English General (Taishō) according to the gravity of the offence. — イギリス人の内徒者於有之者依罪輕重イギリス人の大將次第可申付事

The above is as stated.

右加件

18, Keicho 8 month 28 day  
(Oct. 13th 1613.)

慶長十八年八月廿八日

(Red seal.)

朱印

Ingirateira. (England.)

インギラテイラ

The modified Privileges are quite correctly translated in the Copy facsimilised and printed in RUNDALL's Memorials of the Empire of Japon.

## APPENDIX IV.

### PETITION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE "FLEET OF DEFENCE" TO THE SHOGUN HIDETADA.

The anonymous author of the valuable compilation preserved in the India Office under the title "Supplement to China Materials. Book I. Japan" has preserved the following Petition to the Shogun, of which he used two versions, which seemed to be "awkward translations from the Dutch."

"We make known with Reverence to the Emperor's Majesty :

How that the difference that his Majesty before this has understood to be between the English and the Netherlands nations, is now at an end, by reason of the several ships, one out of England and another out of Holland safely arrived at Jacatra ; who brought tidings of the same and all former grudge aid aside and fully ended between us ; wherefore we are agreed and resolved to make spoil and havock of all Portingalls and Spaniards wheresoever we meet them ; the reason wherefore : he says he is Monarch of all Europe. In regard whereof we intreat His Majesty to think of the proceedings of the king of Spain and his Subjects, who have already entered as firm Inhabitants in Leconia and Macao.

You may be pleased to the maintaining of your estate to have especial regard into their doings, as for example, deferring His Majesty to our last Demonstration given to your Father Ungosisama in the 15th year of Queicheo and afterward, to your Majesty in the third year of Ghennay as the proceedings of their friars has shewed itself without any thinking we do it

out of malice because we have had so many years wars with the king of Spain, but only (as the truth is) to the defending of His Majesty's land and state from the treacherous practices of the friars, being a sufficient warning; which if his Majesty do but overview their doings, with time he shall find the same to be true.

We are at present through charge from our princes, with 10 great ships as well Netherlands as English in Firando arrived, and with the fleet depart, with the first for Leconia and Macao, to spoil and make havock of whom we shall there find; in regard whereof we do earnestly intreat and beseech his Majesty not to give any more passes or letters to any Junks for the places before mentioned, because our enemies by that means is supplied by them of all provisions as munition of war and otherwise; and to no other end but the benefit of some Japan Merchants, although to the great hindrance of his Majesties Lands and Sate. For as long as the voyages from Japan, Leconia and Macao do continue, his Majesty may be assured, that although they may be straightly commanded to the contrary, they will not leave to bring Friars from thence as long as they are allowed this trade. But if his Majesty will not be pleased to favour us in that, yet we shall, howsoever, help and further, to our utmost endeavours, any one of his Majesties subjects in what place soever we shall meet with them, being charged so to do by and from our princes. And for avoiding all differences and discontents between us and his Majesties subjects we earnestly entreat and beseech that his Majesty will be pleased to ordain the Masters of the Junks that do sail from Japan to divers places, not to take in any Spaniards or Portugals or any goods belonging to them into their



Junks, as it has been divers times almost every year, and this present as it happened in Macao. For certain Japan junks being bound for Cochinchina according to their pass, have run in for Macao, and there found to anchor by two of our ships : and in regard of his Majesty's pass they were not molested but shewed them all kindness. Also the Captain of one of the Junks told us that he was forced in by foul weather, and not with his will ; the which was afterwards was found false, for he almost laded himself with Portingal goods, having also Portingals in them, and arrived in Firando ; and presently set sail for Nagasaki; the Portingalls not being ashamed to float us, in regard they had deceived us, and his Majesty's pass not truly followed. For instead of going to Cochinchina they bent their course for Macao. All these thing His Majesty having well considered of, we hope that there shall be such an order given, that hereafter all Junks to what place his Majesty's pass does command them to go, without altering the same shall there proceed and not lade any more Portingalls goods neither transport any Portingals in the vessels. We promise, if in such case either on the sea or on the shore meeting with them, to shew them all possible friendship and favour we can.

Dated Firando 28th, August 1620.

## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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### THROUGH UPPER BURMA AND WESTERN CHINA.

On Wednesday afternoon a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Parish Hall, Tokyo, for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr. John Foster Fraser describing his recent journey through Burma and China. Sir Ernest Satow, K.C.M.G., British Minister, was in the chair, and there was a good attendance of members of the Society.

Sir Ernest Satow at once called upon the traveller to deliver his address.

Mr. Fraser, in the course of his speech, said:—To be asked to address the members of so learned a body as the Asiatic Society of Japan is an honour of which the worthiest of men might be proud. But I stand before you this afternoon with absolutely no claim on your attention. Indeed, the fact that I have travelled through several little known countries upon a bicycle, instead of astride a horse, is sufficient, I think, to make the wise pause and ask "What kind of eccentric person is this and what can he possibly know and tell us about topography and tribes and trade and other things that are dull?" So I confess that the little halo of athletic glory—which even a modest man like myself is conscious of—is inclined to be a hindrance rather than a help on such an occasion as the present. And yet it was as a cyclist that I passed through the countries of which I am going to speak. Accompanied by two others I went through Burma with a knowledge of only two words of Burmese, and after a five months' journey right across China, my acquaintance with the Celestial tongue did not go beyond half-a-dozen sentences. With the exception of an aneroid and a compass we carried no instruments. The facts I gathered on the way were those merely of observation and from conversations with men who know more or less of the country. Therefore at the outset let me disclaim any idea of posing as an authority.

It was as a sightseer and not as an expert that I travelled through Burma from Rangoon and over China to Shanghai, and what I have to say are the casual impressions gathered haphazard in strange lands and the inferences I draw will be little more than those of the often quoted and not very much appreciated "man in the street." Now we were exceedingly unfortunate in starting our journey through Burma at the commencement of the rainy season in June of last year. It would have been easy enough to be whisked up to Mandalay within twenty-four hours by train. But following our affected regard for discomfort, hardships, and bad food we travelled the distance on our wheels. There were little else than tracks through the jungles—jungles of tremendous bamboo and awful silence, a silence that impressed me greatly, for never did I hear the song or even the chirrup of a single bird. We were drenched to the skin and for a full week we slept in our sodden clothes. We preferred that to uncomfortable squeezing into clammy, damp garments. We lived on native Burmese food, slept in the ricketty native huts, and were driven to frenzy and strong language by the hosts of mosquitos that attacked us. Naturally we had as good an opportunity of studying the Burmese as any visitor to the country could have; and now and then meeting British Government officials we were able to hold interpreted conversation with the natives. The Burman struck me as an amiable, indolent, exceedingly conceited person. Favoured by nature and living on a soil that requires little tilling, he grows two and often three crops of rice in a year. He has little to do but make merry. He is improvident. However rich a harvest he may have, the money is soon squandered. The Madras money lender is always ready to assist, and I am only repeating what I heard from dozens of people when I say there is hardly a farm in Burma that is not mortgaged to its utmost extent. To get money the Burman will sell next season's rice crop at a ridiculously low price. Indeed, in the interior I met several English gamblers in rice, staking their money against the Burman's harvests. The Burman is yearly becoming poorer and poorer; his lands are slipping from him. Utterly lacking in patriotism, he acquiesces quite cheerfully in British rule; feeble in business capacity, he is pushed aside by the Chinese merchant;

the Bengalee by superior intellectual power ousts him from the Government posts, and the Madrassé labourer has to be imported for the building of railways and other public works. With the constant intermarriages between the Burmese and the natives of India and the tribes that hang about the western and northern borders, and also the Chinese who are yearly settling in large numbers, they, as a people, are doomed; Burma itself is a great acquisition to the British empire. Its teak forests yield an enormous revenue; several fine petroleum springs have been tapped; there is coal, though of an interior quality, and gold and ruby mines are being worked, though not very lucratively. Burma is one of those lands that are full of infinite possibilities, and it only requires a few particularly lucky finds in rubies and the striking of a good lode of gold for it to, at once, become the happy hunting ground of the speculator and the company promoter. Burma at the present day is in a state of transition, and although while we plodded on through the jungle from village to village we saw the Burman in his natural state, in Mandalay—altogether a modern city with broad streets, a railway station, cabs and bicycles, and where the British soldiers have little to do save make love to the Burmese girls and die of fever—in Mandalay he is struggling not very successfully into the garb of civilization. Pushing north from Mandalay we gradually left behind a country inhabited by Burmans, and came to a region where the population was largely Shan. The Shans are a quiet, inoffensive people devoted to agriculture. They are short in stature, ruddy-cheeked, and inclined to be fat. I rather think they are the aborigines of Burma, but the fighting, bragging Burmese, coming evidently from the Malay Peninsula, drove the Shans, who are really a plain-loving people, into the hills, and then in Upper-Burma, the Kachins—a fierce and warlike race of whom I will have to speak presently—who are hill-dwellers, drove them down again, so that, until the British came along, and put the district under what is practically military law the Shans were very much between the devil and the deep sea, and through large tracks of the Irrawaddy Valley they came near extinction. Our route did not lead through the Shan States. Yet along our way to the Chinese frontier and in China itself, right up to the

Mekong River, we were constantly passing through Shan villages. By the time we reached Bhamo, the frontier military post in Upper Burma, we were in a sort of ethnological museum. There were Burmans and, Shans, Karens and Chins, and especially Kachins. The only parallel I know is in the Caucasus Mountains, where there are distinct tribes innumerable, and where sixty-eight languages are spoken. Just as in the Caucasus, which in the old days were regarded as marking the end of the world, and where in the dark recesses of the hills there grew up separate races, so in the stretch of mountains that wind in a semicircle round western China there are, one might say, a hundred races with individual characteristics and curious customs, a rare and delightfully interesting field for explorers yet to come. One can readily appreciate how it is that lofty, almost unscalable mountains divide a great race. But it would be interesting to know why it is that among mountains there are always a variety of races, whereas the plains, as a rule, have only one race. What I may call a cursory theory is that these people are not aborigines—that, although settled now, they are the descendants of migratory tribes who have been checked in their wanderings by these walls of mountains. It was at Bhamo we came into first touch with the Kachins, a race who set their villages in the highest fastnesses and who ever since the annexation have been a thorn in the side of the British rule in Burma. It is owing to the Kachins that the demarcation of boundaries has been so difficult. The summit of a range of mountains is generally acknowledged to form the best boundary line, but on the Burma-Chinese frontier the valleys were used as the line, because on the hills it would have run through Kachin villages and all kinds of trouble would have ensued. At Bhamo we made our final arrangements for plunging into western China. It was our intention to follow the caravan route over the mountains of Yunnan-sen and then, striking in a northeasterly direction towards the province of Szechuen, get to the great city of Chung-king-fu, and then, keeping more or less to the valley of the Yang-tse river, work our way down to Shanghai. Our project I may candidly confess, was regarded by the authorities at Bhamo as rather worse than reckless. The rainy season was just then at its worst, reports

were coming in of whole districts being flooded, the valleys of the Shewli, the Salween, and the Mekong rivers were death traps from fever, and we might have trouble from the border tribes. However, we determined that come what might we would risk it. We had no passports to enter China, but under the Peking Convention of last year passports were to be granted by the Chinese at the frontier when application was made by the British authorities. We became armed with this application, we manufactured Chinese names for ourselves, had large visiting cards of red paper prepared, and stuck a couple of bottles of quinine in our bags. In apparel all we had was one change of underclothing. And that was our equipment to cross China.

The start I can assure you was discouraging. About four miles of the way between Bhamo and the frontier was under water. The military authorities lent us ponies to get over this bad piece. But the flood was too deep for ponies and that idea was abandoned. Then the authorities lent us two elephants. However, fourteen feet of water was found in places and they had to return. So for a week we were balked in our endeavours to proceed. At last we took to a Kachin boat and went round by the Taeping river to Myothit, a distance of only twenty miles, but so strong was the current that it took three days for us to get there. We struck right into the hills, along a narrow, rugged path, up steep, slippery rocks and through thick forest. It was raining heavily. When the sun came out the air was hot and sickly. We were now in Kachindom and among the Kachins, who by their curious and silent jungle warfare have made many a British column pause, though the fact doesn't always get into the new-papers at home. When we met these half naked tribesmen; sinister looking, with matted hair, and their bodies, especially their thighs, deeply tattooed, every one of them carrying a *dah*—a short sword—or a spear, we did not perhaps feel particularly comfortable. The Kachin is a little man, rarely above 5 ft. 4 in. He is wiry rather than muscular. Though there is not a distinct type of countenance, as a rule the Kachin has a longish face with high cheek bones, his eyes are oblique and his skin a dirty brown. The Kachins, according to Mr. George, who was formerly Deputy Com-

missioner at Bhamo, originally came from the south of the Gobi Desert. That there is not a uniform type of Kachin is met by the theory that in successive waves of migration they engulfed the small aboriginal tribes, though it is certain they never mixed with the Shans. They have no knowledge of writing and although on charm posts outside their villages I have seen crude drawings they do not have drawings for the conveyance of ideas. Their methods of agriculture are most primitive and the Forest Officers are doing their best to prevent it being also most wasteful. What they do is to select a virgin site on a hillside and fell the jungle about March. When it is thoroughly dry they fire it in June. The ground is turned over with a hoe, the ashes mixing with the soil, the grain is thrown down roughly and then left to take care of itself till October when the crop is reaped. This method of agriculture prevents the same area being cropped two years running; indeed it has to lie fallow for from five to ten years. There are customs among the Kachin tribes that are peculiar. At the birth of a child always two great tankards of native drink are prepared. The friends drink of one tankard until the child is born and then the second is lifted up and some one exclaims. "This child's name is 'N Kam" and the drink is immediately swallowed as a preventive, in some way, to the evil spirits giving another name. And among the Kachins all the personal names are fixed. The first son is always called 'N-Kam, the second is always, 'N-Nawug, the third always 'N-La, the fourth 'N-Ou and so on. In the same way the girls are called 'N-Kaw, 'N-Lu, 'N-Roi and the like. The surnames are such as Paw-Sa, Chumlut, Lahang, Mi Tur, and surnames always precede the personal name so that in the case of a family called Paw Sa the eldest son's name is Paw-Sa 'N-Kam. People of the same name, though belonging to different tribes, always consider themselves of like blood and therefore never marry. It is a general rule that a man should marry a first cousin on the female side. If, however, he refuses to marry his cousin then he must pay a fine to the girl's parents. A marriage ceremony consists chiefly in an exchange of presents and a feast at which the bride and bridegroom feed one another with rice. Personally I never saw such ugly creatures

in the world as the Kachin women. They are stunted and awkward limbed; their hair is always matted and hangs over their foreheads; their faces are flat with uneven noses. The Kachins are even dirtier than the Chinese and that is saying a good deal. Twice we slept in Kachin huts. These were interesting occasions though twice is quite sufficient for a lifetime. All the houses were built on the same plan. They were oblong, of bamboo and thatch, and raised some two or three feet from the ground. Some of the houses were of enormous size, nearly a hundred feet in length and may be thirty feet wide, but whether large or small the internal arrangement was always the same. The door was at one end and on the immediate right was a general room, where we slept. Next to it was the room occupied by the eldest son and his wife, next to them was the room occupied by the girls and then at the end was the one occupied by the head of the household and his wife. On the other side of the house was a room where the sons slept and a long room, into which the others opened, where anybody slept. Of course we knew nothing of the Kachin language and at night when we got into a Kachin village we had to talk by signs. Our rule was to walk straight into the biggest house in the village and at once make a present of a rupee to the woman in charge. The places were vilely dirty and as there were no windows and as the wood that was burnt was damp we choked with the smoke and our eyes ached. We generally got the natives to give us some of their rice; we had no difficulty in securing eggs and sometimes we killed a fowl. We had to do our own cooking and indigestible fare was frequently the result. Now and then we found cobs of maize and the long wretched evenings were spent in grilling these in the ashes. I need hardly say that we did not take off our clothes. I used my boots and a volume of Shakespeare as a pillow, threw my jacket over my feet to keep them warm, lay a towel across my face to resist, in some small way, the onslaughts of the mosquitoes and then sticking my hands in my pockets tried to sleep on the ribbed bamboos that formed the floor. In those days we lapsed very readily into a delightful condition of barbarity. Next to being scrupulously clean it is a real joy to be unscrupulously dirty. For days we went unwashed, unshaven and uncom-



bed; indeed none of us shaved from the time we left Bhamo till Shanghai was reached, a period of over five months. Progress was slow, for cycling was out of the question. There is a good deal of the goat in the composition of the Kachin and he never skirts a hill if he can climb over it. The paths were narrow and fearfully steep, the jungle was dense and the air palpitated with the roar of insects. Each day was like the preceding in hard climbing. But a constant joy to us was the dazzling, bewildering beauty of the butterflies we saw. In no museum have I ever seen such gorgeousness, such exquisite loveliness of tint. Frequently the outstretched wings were as large as two open hands. And the colours—such striking vermilions, such soft toned greys, a mingling of blues and greens, like shot silk, splotches of blood red on a wing that was like black velvet, the body of the wing sometimes of rich emerald and the fringe of orange and carmine—never have I seen such marvellous loveliness of insect life as in those wild border regions between Burma and China.

We always knew when we were approaching a Kachin village by the rude carved wooden designs by the path side and the singularly made festoons that hung overhead. These were to keep off the vicious forest nat called Chitôn. But nats in Kachindom are without number. Every accident or sickness is ascribed to some malignant nat, and every hill, forest and stream has its spirit. The Kachins have no knowledge of the cause of death. They have no idea of a future existence. Their nats are nearly all vindictive and have to be propitiated by the sacrifice of pigs or buffaloes or fowls. When the animal is killed parts of the thigh and shoulder are cut off, boiled, wrapped up in little packets of leaves, then hung on the bamboo shrine and the nat is asked to accept the offering and be appeased. At the entrance to every village we saw sometimes half a dozen, sometimes twenty of these shrines. No house is built, no marriage contracted, no journey undertaken, without consulting the nats. The will of the nats is obtained through a *mi-tway*, or supposed inspired diviner, when in a state of temporary frenzy. When a youth shows signs of being in connection with the spirit world—the signs to my idea being generally a touch of insanity—his powers are

tested by ordeal. A ladder is prepared, the steps consisting of swords with the sharp edges upwards, and this ladder is reared against a platform set with spikes. The youth must go up the ladder barefooted and sit on the spikes. If he shows no signs of inconvenience and then comes down the ladder again, having received no marks of injury, he is accepted as a true diviner. Naturally the Kachins are superstitious. A snake or a wild cat crossing the path is a fatal sign and a journey is at once abandoned. The crossing of the path by deer or rhinoceros is accepted as a good portent. Also they believe in witchcraft. If a man has been bewitched he generally employs a *mi-tway* to start some counter-bewitching. Sometimes, however, he shoots his bewitcher from behind a tree. They believe in the evil-eye. A dying man always knows who has looked upon him with the evil-eye and he leaves to his family the settling of the "debt." Mr. George, of Bhamo, had to deal, a year or two ago, with one of these cases. C, the brother of A and B, happened to die of fever, and before dying declared D had bewitched him. Within a fortnight A and B collected a following, attacked D's house, shot him dead, and, capturing the whole of his household and relations, 13 in all, sold them into slavery. Even on trial A and B would not admit the possibility of C having made a mistake and were scandalised that the British Government should interfere on behalf of a wizard. The Kachins are fond of raiding and war. The Government of Burma, as I have already remarked, has endless trouble with them, and nearly every cold weather a column is out administering chastisement to some tribe that has been recalcitrant.

Well, we passed through the Kachins that live on the borders of Burma-China, but never were we molested. They were sullen and scowling, but this was their natural condition, and whenever we encountered a body of them on the narrow jungle paths they invariably made room for us. With the exception of their villainous countenances and the *dah*, always carried by their side, we saw nothing to suggest they were raiders. Not till we got well over the border on the Chinese side and then we saw the Shan and Chinese villages were protected by stockades. These villages were on rising ground and the jungle in the

vicinity was cleared. First around the village was a heavy barrier of tree trunks, with a pit, crossed by a drawbridge, near the entrance. Outside the barrier of trees was another barrier of thick bamboos. Then, where the inclined ground reached the level, were long, sharpened bamboo spears at three angles just as soldiers fix bayonets ready to receive cavalry. But within a day or two's journey these protected villages had ceased and the villages were ordinary Chinese Shan collections of miserable huts. All the time it was raining heavily; much of the way was under water, and frequently we had to wade long distances with the flood above our knees. One night, being overtaken by darkness, we lay down to sleep under a foul shed open at the sides and were glad to get some Chinese mule-drivers, who were camping there, to give us some of their broth. As you know there is no fixed currency in China and we had consequent bother with our money matters. The rupee was serviceable through Manwyn as far as Teng-yueh or Momein, as it is called on some maps. At Teng-yueh we exchanged our rupees for little pieces of silver of various weights. These pieces of silver we sold by weight in the towns we passed through, getting Chinese cash in exchange. Silver itself is heavy, but it is a perfect feather weight compared with cash. Nearly four hundred of these go to the value of a shilling, and half a crown value of cash weighs just 8 lbs. Once when we set off over the hills to do a long stretch, where there were no towns, we had to hire a coolie to carry our money for us. At Bhamo we had deposited a large sum with a Chinese merchant and he gave us a draft on another merchant at Tali. At Tali we got enough silver to take us to Yunnan, carrying another draft from the Tali merchant to still another merchant in Yunnan, and so we kept on to Suifu, to Chung-king-fu, to Ichang, and to Hankow, where we got into the region of the dollar. Of course we lost tremendously changing our lump silver into cash, for the silver in different districts was of different quality. The money changers always declared our silver was inferior to the local silver, and their scales never tallied with ours. Then a hundred cash was never 100 cash. The custom is to deduct four out of every hundred for changing, but frequently more were deducted and generally a number of spurious coins.

were introduced which it was impossible to get rid of. Besides in different districts the hundred varied. Outside the gates of Yuman sen it was 96; inside the city the hundred was only sixty-four. Then once we got into a region where all the coinage was spurious and the hundred leapt up to 320. Every town had its own rate of exchange for the tael. The confusion was annoying. It was just the same in trying to measure distance. It might be ten li—a little over three miles—from A to B, but from B to A it was only seven li. Sometimes we would have a day's march of 90 li, and when we thought it was a long distance to climb over the hills we would be told "Oh, but they are only short li" or may be we would have only 60 li to do in a day, and we would hear they were long li. So we found often that sixty li and ninety li were about the same distance. Thus, in a rather a confused state of mind we reached Teng-yueh. Here we were to be furnished with passports by the Chinese authorities and we immediately presented at the Yamen our documents from the British authorities at Bhamo. Staying in a draughty loft of a reeking foul Chinese inn, the air thick with the odours of a cesspool close by, we waited patiently for eight days to be furnished with these passports. When we got the telegraph master, who knew a few words of English, to accompany us to the Yamen we found that nothing had been done. The Mandarin did not understand the documents in Chinese we had brought with us, and very laboriously we had to explain what their contents were and what were the provisions of the Peking Convention of 1897. The mandarin knew nothing about it and when he was told that a British consul would soon be settling at Teng-yueh he almost had a fit. The news spread rapidly—within twenty-four hours it was generally understood in the city that the British were coming to annex Yunnan. But still the Mandarin hesitated about the passports and it was not till we began to ride the high horse, and got angry and told him we would telegraph to Peking, that we got our passports. They were the most extraordinary passports in the world, large enough to paper an hotel bedroom with, but they served our purpose. So after twelve days in Teng-yueh—a wretched twelve days of sickness and fever, with inquisitive dirty Chinese forcing their curiosity upon us and those vile

smells, "seven and twenty smells, all well defined and genuine stinks"—we got once more under way. A tatterdemalion guard of six soldiers was sent with us, not out of any desire to offer protection but rather as a precaution on the Mandarin's behalf, for he assumed that if anything happened to us he would get into trouble. Hitherto we had been crawling along the uneven rough way of the valley of the Taeping River. But now we had to cross before reaching Tali-fu a series of enormous mountains running due north and south with the great rivers of the Shweli, the Salween, and the Mekong,—three of the five great rivers (the others are the Yang-tse and the Irrawaddy)—that are born in the wildernesses of Tibet. These hills are among the great walls of the world that have split the human race in sections. I won't dwell upon the personal hardships on our way to Tali, the wretched food we had to eat, the still more wretched places we had to sleep in, or the hostility of the natives at Yung-chang-fu. But I would like to impress on you what terrible barriers of mountain these are, what a horrible region of desolation and poverty we passed through, what difficulties there are in the way of rapid transit. I want to do so because, as you know, there is much airy talk at home about "tapping" Yunnan, of building a railway from Mandalay to Tali-fu, and so draining the wealth of the province into British territory. Referring to my diary written during our journey I find that on the day we left Teng-yuch all we travelled was thirteen miles, that first we rose 2,000 feet by an exceedingly steep path, and then descended 2,000 feet in the short distance of two and a quarter miles. The next day when we crossed the Shweli river by one of those Chinese suspension bridges that are the marvel of all travellers it took us five hours to go seven miles and we rose to an altitude of 7,400 feet. Down we went again and then uphill we climbed through a forest to 8,000 ft. So the way to Yung-chang-fu kept rising and falling, varying two or three times a day from four to seven thousand feet. Yung-chang-fu lies in a plain of about fifteen miles by six, a very pleasant plain, famous in that part of China for its fruit. When we reached the Salween, the valley of which is said to be a fever bed and where no Chinaman will pass the night, we had an

almost precipitous drop of from five to two thousand feet. The Salween used to be claimed by the Burmese Kings as the boundary of their territory and it is a thousand pities the British Government did not fix it as the line dividing Burmah and China instead of the present erratic, ill-marked line which it is almost impossible to follow. Another day, when we travelled only thirteen miles, we climbed from an altitude of 3,300 feet to 8,150 and then descended to 2,300. The morning we crossed the great Mekong river we fell 2,200 feet, rose 1,500 feet and then fell 500 feet. So it was day after day—once we got up to 8,350 feet—a land of dreariness and dismay.

Yet people at home talk and write enthusiastically of running a railway out of Burma to Tali-fu. They look at a small scale map and nothing looks simpler than such a line. Folks think it is a magnificent thing to have obtained a concession from the Chinese Government to have a British railway in the heart of Yunnan. It would be just as magnificent, in my mind, to obtain a concession to run a railway to the moon. I am not daring enough to say that the building of a railway from Burmah to Tali-fu is impossible—nothing seems impossible in engineering—but I do say that the difficulties would be high insurmountable and the cost would be fabulous. But assuming for a minute that a railway into Yunnan is possible—the question arises what has Yunnan to give in the way of minerals or produce? Has it got coal, which would be acceptable, as the Burmese coal is poor stuff; could it grow rice in sufficient quantities to compete with the Burmese rice? Is there a prospect of gold or silver or copper being found in large quantities? In a word, of what are you going to “tap” Yunnan? Now there is only one man in this world who can speak with any authority upon the resources of Yunnan. That is Capt. Davies of the Intelligence Department, who makes a special study of the Burma-Chinese frontier and who has explored Yunnan on behalf of the Indian Government for the very object of investigating a possible route for a railway and learning what are the resources of the province. It is an open secret that in his report to his Government he was strongly against any attempt being made to construct a railway. At Mandalay I had long conversations with Captain Davies, because we would be the first

to go into the country after it had been declared open to British trade, and I was naturally anxious to gain all the information I possibly could to form some opinion of this really interesting and little known part of the world. Captain Davies told me that the part of Yunnan likely to trade with Burma includes 40,000 square miles, of which, however, only one-seventeenth is plain, and contains a population of between two and three millions. On the route of the suggested railway to Tali, that is from the Kunlong Ferry by way of Yin-cho, there is very little wood and the coal is extremely poor. The great coal-fields of Yunnan lie on the eastern border of the province, next to Kweichau. But he said there are gold, copper, and lead mines which might be more advantageously worked than they are at present by the Chinese. Yet because there are such minerals there is by no means any evidence that they would be worth working by British subjects. Because gold is known to exist in almost unexplored regions some people talk much nonsense about the untold and unknown wealth of those regions. It must be remembered that Chinese will work a mine when the recompense is a mere pittance. Because the Chinese get gold out of the mud of the Upper Yang-tze it is not to be supposed that it only requires foreign capital for gold to be shovelled up. If a Chinese gets four pence worth of gold out of the Yang-tze mud in a day he is exceedingly well satisfied. So I hope I may be permitted, with all diffidence, to utter a warning against the idea that Yunnan is extremely rich. As far as can be learnt Yunnan is among the poorest of the eighteen provinces. Around Yunnan-sen itself I believe there is iron in abundance. But this part of the province and the eastern border where there is coal could never be "tapped" into Burma. If there is to be any "tapping" by rail it is southwards into French territory or possibly north-wards towards the Yang-tse valley. What Yunnan at present sends into Burma is gold-leaf—largely used in decorating the Burmese pagodas—a small quantity of silk, hides, horns, hams, paper and fibres. After examining the country carefully the most Capt. Davies could say was—"There seems to be a good chance of a large trade in ponies, mules, goats, sheep, pigs, geese, ducks, chickens and possibly cattle and buffaloes." The imports into Yunnan from

Burma in 1896 represented Rs. 1,364,000, of which cotton represented Rs. 1,127,168 and woollen cloth Rs. 45,640. The trade between the two countries would very possibly be increased through the agency of a railway but by no means to such an extent as would pay for building so expensive a line.

It may seem unpatriotic for me to throw my little pail of cold water over what is generally considered a splendid scheme for extending the range of British commerce. And it will seem strange to you that the Indian Government—in the face of their own representative's report antagonistic to a railway—should yet strenuously advocate a railway into Yunnan, not to be built by themselves, but by railway speculators, and that they have actually constructed a line up to the Kunlong Ferry as an incentive. Now may I advance a theory. The province of Yunnan in itself is not worth having and the British Government well know it, but it is next door to the wealthiest province in the empire, that of Szechuen. Szechuen has been well explored by Englishmen and by Frenchmen. Both Britain and France know that it is the plum of the Chinese provinces, that its population is large and prosperous, that it is especially rich in silk and is full of minerals, especially gold. France is very anxious to reach Szechuen and "tap" it into Tonquin. That is why you so often hear of French railway schemes up to Yunnan sen and beyond. The object of the Indian Government in fostering the idea of a railway out of Burma into Yunnan is, I am convinced, to checkmate any advance from the direction of Tonquin. It is a race for Szechuen. It so happened to be my fortune not only to journey by the trade route out of Burma to Tali-fu and Yunnan-sen but also by the trade route from Yunnan-sen into Szechuen province to Chung-king-fu and, from there, down the valley of the Yang-tse. And it was most clearly apparent, to even a casual traveller like myself, that when the day comes, as come it will soon, for Szechuen province to be opened up by foreign capital the communication between that province and the world will be by means of the Yang-tse river, the great highway of central China, and not by any railways running into either French or British territory. And now having run counter to what I know is the general public idea about



Yunnan I resume what I have to say about our journeying through Western China.

I was struck with the woe-begone appearance of the country throughout. There were towns that seemed crumbling to decay and there were hundreds of thousands of acres of terraced "paddy" fields all bearing silent, gloomy evidence of how the population was reduced to a mere fragment, thirty years or so ago, when the Chinese imperial troops came in to do vengeance for the Mohammedan rebellion. At Tali-fu, a beautifully situated city by the side of a wide and charming lake and backed by a glorious range of mountains 14,000 feet in height—at Tali-fu, which was formerly the seat of power of the Mohammedans, we first saw the Man-tzus, one of the few races that have all along held themselves more or less independent of Chinese rules. Personally I had some difficulty in differentiating them from the Chinese. Those that were pointed out to me were sturdier, smaller and clearer skinned than the average Chinese. The women, however, were easily recognised, they dressed differently, had rather good features and they were free from the ugly, uncomfortable distortion of the feet which is supposed to produce gracefulness among the women of China. Later on, during our thirteen days' journey to the capital city of Yunnan-sen we came across other people that were quite evidently not Chinese. But most of them seemed diseased, four out of every five women were the victims of goitre, and even men and boys were also suffering from this loathsome protuberance. The district is pestilential. I wanted to send letters back into Burma from Tali-fu, but Mr. Smith, the missionary there, practically declined to get me a coolie to carry them, because on three occasions he had sent men to Bhamo and two had died by the way. When the telegraph line was being constructed some five or six years ago to connect Tali-fu with Burma sixty men were employed in the work. Of these fifty-six died. The observant Marco Polo, who was this way six centuries ago, wrote "The country is wild and hard of access, full of great woods and mountains which it is impossible to pass, the air is so impure and unwholesome; and any foreigner attempting it would die for certain."

Much of the land between Tali and Yunnan was bleached; there

was not a blade of grass and only a few dwarfed and sickly trees. Several times we missed the regular halting stage and had to stop in the hovels of the peasantry, getting little else to eat but badly cooked rice and eggs. Though in the towns we were more or less interfered with and molested by the rabble, the country people were courteous. All the time our clothes were sodden with the wet, we were splashed from head to foot with mud, our shoes gave out so that we had to resort to native sandals and our clothes became ragged. We met plenty of people on the way, coolies, carrying enormous burdens. Every coolie was an opium smoker, and at night the little inn rooms reeked with unsavoury odors. I had read a good deal about the opium smoker of China, of what a fleshless wreck he is, how he is hollow-eyed and nerveless, always in tatters, and always beseeching for more opium. There may be such a person, but I rather fancy he is a creature of romance. I saw many thousands of opium smokers, hundreds of thousands I might say, during those five months it took in crossing China. There were men who had smoked for thirty years, strong, healthy robust men, who certainly showed no signs of being victims. The coolie class, notorious opium smokers, invariably spent their evenings over the pipe. Yet during the day, without faltering, they would walk from twenty to thirty miles carrying 120 lbs. and this not on one day, but day after day throughout their lives. I am not for one moment defending opium smoking, but I took careful note by the way and I came to the conclusion that all the talk we hear about the Chinese opium victim is nothing else but gross and wilful exaggeration. China, we are told, holds out her hands beseeching that the British Government should not force Indian opium upon the Chinese. Of course she does. But this is not to save China from the curse of opium but to prevent the Indian opium competing with the opium of China. Why, I passed through miles and miles of poppy country, cultivated by the mandarins themselves, and it is well-known that a large part of the income of the Peking Government is derived from the opium tax. In the capital of Yunnan, where we halted for a week—a fine specimen of the never changing western Chinese city—the great triennial examinations had just concluded and the place was full of students. We

had several talks with them and they displayed, for students, a really refreshing ignorance. They pooh-poohed the idea that China had been defeated by Japan in the recent war. "We are the great glorious Middle Kingdom, so how could we be defeated?" was their method of arguing. They inquired whether in England there was a sun like the one in China, and whether there were trees and rivers? They believed that foreigners have a hole through their chests, through which a bamboo pole could be stuck and the foreigner be carried by coolies. When we said we also had examinations in our country, they replied that some of their great Chinese scholars must have been to England to show us the way. They were interested in our bicycles and admitted that the foreigner was rather clever in mechanics. But it is the Chinese who are the learned people, they said. All the examinations for public appointments are in the sages. If a man shows a good acquaintance with the writings of Confucius and Mencius, that proves he is just the person to have the administration of the telegraphs under his control. Constant downpours of rain continued after we had left Yunnan-sen. The inns were dirty, though cheap. The price for a night's lodging was often not more than fifteen cash ahead, about a half-penny. Lunch generally consisted of boiled maize. On one occasion we purchased an eight pound leg of mutton for two-pence farthing.

We began to notice that many of the villages were guarded by high walls and that there were towers of refuge. We were in a region subjected to periodical raids from the Lolos, who live in the hill fastnesses on the other side of the Yang-tse. Lolo-land is about the size of Wales, lying at the bottom of the Szechuen, and the people, though they speak Chinese and in a half-hearted way acknowledge allegiance to China, are really a republic and only permit Chinese traders to enter their country by permission. We did not go into Lolo-land, but we saw many of the Lolos. They are certainly not Chinese. They are very tall men, slim and muscular, their oval faces, much wrinkled, and copper tinted. The cheek bone is prominent and the chin pointed, the nose is arched, the lips thin and the eyes straight. Their clothing is a heavy mantle of felt and the true Lolo twists his hair much like a unicorn's horn in

front of his head. According to the brilliant and intrepid Baber, the tribes are continually fighting among themselves; they are not Buddhists but make sacrifices to gods of their own; women, not thought much of among the Chinese, may in Lolo-land succeed to be chief of a tribe; they use knives and forks; they have slave hunts and carry Chinese women into their territory. But a Lolo never marries a Chinese woman. They are proud of birth, and just as "blue blood" among us is the sign of being high born the Lolo nobles call themselves "black-bones." Those of you who have read Baber will remember the amusing difficulties he had in securing a copy of a page from a Lolo written book, the writing being quite distinct from the Chinese. That facsimile is perhaps the only fragment of Lolo calligraphy that has been given to the outer world. But at Tung-chuan I saw the baby boy of the missionary playing with a written book of quite unfamiliar writing. When I asked the missionary what it was he said, "Oh it is a Lolo book that I bought from a Lolo wizard; some day I will try to find out what it is about." I tried to get possession of that volume, but when I had explained its immense value the missionary decided to keep it himself and ceased to allow it to be thrown about the floor as a plaything for his child. The Lolos are an exceedingly curious race about whom we know practically nothing. Where they came from no one can say but they themselves have an idea they came from the west. Here, however, is certainly a distinct alien race planted in a corner of China and a splendid opportunity is now offered for somebody to prove they are one of the lost tribes. Striking towards the Yang-tse river we had a nasty time. The country was still bare and barren, chill winds swept about the mountains, there was desolation everywhere. Carried on the shoulders of coolies it was with the utmost difficulty we got across the turbulent torrents. For miles the rude path was through slush, ankle-deep. Then away up into the mountains we went again, once to an altitude of 9,100 feet. The rural folks seemed little better than savages.

We were glad to get to the town of Chao-tung-fu, though our arrival with bicycles nearly caused a riot. Chao-tung-fu is the darkest spot in that dark part of China. It is the slave market of western China and

nearly all the girls of Chao-tung are sold into slavery. A Chinese only counts the sons as belonging to his family. In Chao-tung if he is too poor to rear his daughters to a selling age the infants are murdered. Mr. Sam Pollard, the missionary there, told me that quite seventy-five per cent. of the daughters born are done to death. Babies from three days of age to three years are pitched over the city walls. They are not, however, always killed first. The pariah dogs may often be seen gnawing the arm of an infant yet alive. Mr. Pollard said it was no infrequent thing to find two or three baby corpses in the course of an afternoon's stroll. As there are no workhouses, the bodies of the poor are also thrown outside the city. The wolves and the hyenas come down in the night, and when day breaks there is no trace left of the unfortunate dead. Good Samaritanism is a thing not practised in Chao-tung. Should a man fall sick by the roadside, no one brings the oil and the twopence to succour him. If he dies in your house the authorities put you to the expense of burying him. Therefore, the best thing to do is to leave him and let the wild animals do their work. Chao-tung is indeed notorious for its inhumanity. The punishments inflicted for crime are horribly barbarous. Not long ago a woman, guilty of infidelity, was strung up by the neck with her toes just touching the ground. There she hung till death closed her misery. A murderer was crucified on one of the city gates and red hot nails were hammered through his wrists. The wretch tried to shorten the agony by battering his head against the wood-work. So the authorities provided a pillow to prevent anything of the kind. It took four days for him to die. But it is for providing the whole of Western China with its slave girls that Chao-tung is famously infamous. The majority of the girls saved from a pitching over the city wall are kept for the purposes of sale. There are merchants in the business who make a large profit by taking up groups of little girls to Yunnan-sen. Poor people—who cannot afford the necessary wedding gifts when their son marries—will purchase a child of three or four years and keep her till she is of marriageable age. Most of these Chao-tung girls are sold for servants in the yamens. Many, however, are sold into concubinage. A common ordinary drudge of a girl is sold for about five shillings. A pretty, healthy

girl of sixteen years will, may be, fetch a coupla of pounds, rarely more. All round Chao-tung lies abundance of silver, copper, coal, and iron. But the Chinese have very primitive ways of getting the minerals. They admit foreigners are the best at that kind of thing because they have the power of seeing underground. Some years ago two Japanese came to the city exploring for silver. The authorities wanted to test their powers. They buried some silver ingots on the parade ground. Then they took the Japanese a walk that way. "Is there any silver about here?" they asked. "No," said the Japanese, "this is not the kind of soil in which silver is found." Then the buried metal was produced from under their very feet, amidst the loud hilarity of all Celestial officialdom. Since that time the Chao-tung-ese have had a prodigious contempt for foreigners. We were glad to push on from this town. We got into a rugged district where even mules could not travel and all the carriage of goods had to be done by coolies. We skirted the river Hen, finding it first tearing out a subterranean cavern and then we followed it till it became a big, swollen, noisy river.

We had a few rough times and discomforts on the way and I think our hearts really leapt for joy that day when the muddy breast of the mighty Yang-tse, that was draining a continent, was suddenly revealed to us and we saw the great junks and heard the melodious song of the oarsmen. We crossed the Yang-tse and treached the bustling city of Suifu. We were now in Szechuen and at once it was noticeable how much finer a country it was than Yunnan. The land was under cultivation, the people were better nurtured, the villages were cleaner. Altogether there was an air of prosperity which forced itself all the more on our attention because we had just left a bleak and inhospitable region. So without adventure, but very worn and tattered, we reached Chung-king-fu, the Manchester of Western China, situated on a hump of rock at the junction of the Min River and the Yang-tse and the first of the treaty ports we were to visit on our way. Here there are Consuls representing Britain, France, America and Japan, and I dare say they have other duties besides marrying missionaries, playing tennis, and occasionally quarrelling about precedence. However, that Chung-king is soon going to be an

important city as far as the outer world is concerned there can be no doubt. This is the "tapping" station as far as the unquestionably rich province of Szechuen is concerned. Under treaty, steamers are permitted to go there, but, as yet, no steamer has faced the dangers of the Yangtse gorges. However, I believe, that this spring a Japanese steamship company intend to run the risk and as soon as it is found that steamers can safely go through the gorges, Szechuen will be like a great rich, newly-discovered country thrown open to the traders of the world. At Chung-king-fu western China stops and therefore I stop also. I have been unable here in Japan, to make any references to books, and what I have told you has been merely scrappy information gathered by the way. As I said at the outset, I do not set up as an authority. My opinions are simply those of a wanderer who has passed through an interesting part of the world and endeavoured to keep his eyes open by the way.

SIR ERNEST SATOW, in a few comments on the lecture, said he was interested by Mr. Fraser's reference to the custom among the Kachins of discovering a mi-tway by making him climb up a ladder of swords and sit upon a row of spikes. It was a very curious fact, which they were perhaps all familiar with, that this was also a practice constantly used in Japan by jugglers. It was a very favorite theory of ethnologists that when one found very similar practices or inventions in two different parts of the world it pointed to the probability that these two peoples must have had communication and intercourse at some time or other. But unless one could show that there was a series of places where these practices were performed making a kind of chain between Burmah and Japan, they could hardly, in view of the inaccessibility of the countries, conclude that either had derived the custom from the other. It seemed more likely that this idea occurred spontaneously to each, and was due to the similarity in the constitution of the human mind all over the world. He remembered seeing in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford different inventions from different parts of the world, and it was curious to see how the human mind in very diverse situations had hit upon the same idea. He had sometimes reminded Professor Tyler, who was rather liberal in religious matters, on the result of his labours of comparison

being largely to prove the common origin and homogeneity of the human race. Again, everyone was familiar with the Japanese footgear. Well, almost precisely the same kind of shoe was used by people in the North of Siam, and people in Western China, and yet there was no reason to suppose that there had been an importation of the fashion by the Japanese from the Chinese. The same sort of footgear was also seen in the Malay Peninsula. With regard to the lecture he had to thank Mr. Fraser, on behalf of the Society, for a most interesting and, he must say, a most learned address. It would be read with great interest not only in Japan but at home and specially by those interested in that much talked of but probably never to be accomplished railway between Burmah and Yunnan.



## MINUTES OF THE MEETING.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Parish Buildings, No. 54, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, the 23rd November, the President of the Society, SIR ERNEST SATOW, being in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been taken as read, the Chairman called upon Dr. Riess to read his paper on the.

### HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT HIRADO.

Dr. RIESS read the following lecture as a summary of his paper :—

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES and GENTLEMEN,—The paper on the History of the English Factory at Hirado which I have prepared for this meeting is too long to be read here in its entirety. Instead of giving you abstracts from it, I prefer to lay before you the principal results of my investigation as briefly as possible, hoping that you will pardon my boldness in addressing you in a language foreign to me. For the sake of clearness and precision it seems to me the best plan in the beginning to formulate some questions and supply the answers, which are given at greater length in the seven chapters of my paper and its four appendices, and afterwards to give a more connected narrative.

By way of preliminary I may, however, be allowed to say a few words about the material used for this historical enquiry.

The books and papers of the English Factory at Hirado were brought home in the 17th century and deposited in the archives of the East India Company. What still remained of them, when the present India Office was founded, has been carefully preserved in the Registry and Records Department of that grand establishment at White-hall. In the enormous collection of letters arranged chronologically in a series of huge volumes under the title of original correspondence, the Factory at Hirado is exceedingly well represented considering the short period of its existence. Some of the most interesting pieces of historical material brought home from Japan had, however, previously been taken out of the Library of the East India Company and never returned. Not all of

these are lost to us. Some valuable letters found a new resting place among the Cotton Charters, and the diary of Richard Cooks, the head of the English Factory from its beginning to its dissolution, was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum, and forms now two volumes of the additional manuscripts. On the whole one must say, seldom have the beginnings of an early commercial enterprise left so many traces in public archives as this otherwise so unfortunate establishment in Japan.

Nor has the advantage of being printed and published been denied to these materials brought home from Japan. Already in 1624 Samuel Purchas edited in his famous *Collection of Travels* entitled "*Pilgrimages*" an account of the first journey of an English ship to Japan, together with the observations of its Captain and some letters. He even gave a typographical facsimile of a Japanese writing, as far as I am aware, for the first time in Europe. I think, there is no copy of that valuable publication to be found in Japan; but I may show you here a Dutch translation of that portion relating to Japan; published as late as 1707, and embellished with fanciful engravings in the style of that period. The next publication is 250 years later than that of Purchas. In one of the first volumes of the Hakluyt Society Rundall published in 1850 from the originals in the possession of the East India Company six letters of William Adams, his contract with the East India Company, and his will, which no longer exists. Then appeared the admirable *Calendar of State Papers* relating to the East Indies, China, and Japan, edited by Sainsbury. You would be astonished to see how many of the entries in the first three volumes have reference to the short lived English Factory in Japan. Cooks' Diary found 15 years ago an exceptionally careful and experienced editor in the person of Edward Maunde Thompson, afterwards Principal Librarian of the British Museum. And this will not be the last publication of materials relating to the English Factory at Hirado. I have been told that the President of our Society is about to assist the Hakluyt Society with his scholarship, and his intimate acquaintance with Japanese life, in publishing a new volume based on the Records of the East India Company. For there is still plenty of interesting material which has never been published. I devoted about six weeks of my leave of

absence in 1893 to its study, and intend to edit some abstracts from Saris-Journal and a few letters of Adams, etc. A great deal now lost to us in its original form has been rescued from oblivion by an unknown writer, who in 1824 collected materials supplementary to Bruve's Annals of the East India Company. This manuscript is kept in the India Office; it contains many abstracts from "Damaged Papers," "The Firando Ledger" and other "Books sent from India" no longer accessible to us.

The very scanty Japanese Materials relating to the English Factory of Hirado are all to be found in one volume compiled by a native of Hirado, Sugunuma Sadakaze and entitled History of the trade of Japan," to which a "History of Hirado Harbour" is attached. He died in 1889 at Manila at the early age of 26. The *Tōhōkyōkai* has done a great service for students of Japanese History by providing the funds for this publication.

**L.—WHAT INDUCED THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TO SEND AN EXPEDITION TO JAPAN AT SO EARLY A STAGE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT?**

You all know that the English East India Company received its Charter on the very last day of the 16th century, December 31st, 1600. The instructions for Captain John Saris to sail from London to Japan were dated more than ten years later, April 19th, 1611. At the first glance such an interval of more than 10 years seems sufficient for an expansion of tradal connection from India to Japan after the Portuguese had, more than half a century before, shown the way and set the example. But closer inspection shows that the English sent only seven expeditions eastward before the Japanese one; that they did not establish trade any further than Acheen and Bantam, their enterprises in the Moluccas being very unfortunate. While the Dutch Company pushed its trade vigorously and systematically to the Moluccas, Bantam, Siam, Cochin China, China, Japan,—the English made a sudden jump from Bantam to Japan. The motive for this rush to this country requires, therefore, an explanation.

Very short and simple indeed is the exp'lanation suggested by Rundall, and repeated by Sainsbury. They state that William Adams' letter to his "unknown friends" written in Japan on the 11th of October, 1611, "led to the opening of commercial intercourse between England and

Japan," two years afterwards. But already Hildreth, in his still valuable book, "Japan as it was and is," has pointed out the chronological impossibility of this view. For already six months before Adams' wrote that touching letter in Japan, Saris had set sail on his pioneer expedition to Hirado. The fact is, that the English East India Company was simply imitating the example of the Dutch United Company. When the news of the successful establishment of a Dutch Factory at Hirado became known in London, the English prepared at once a similar enterprise, taking it for granted that Adams, who had greatly assisted the Dutch, would do even more for his own countrymen. The Governor of the East India Company wrote at once to Adams, stating that in the following year a ship would be sent to Japan. The presence of William Adams in Japan certainly encouraged the Court of Directors to risk such a distant establishment. But no advice, or promise, had been received directly from Adams either in London or Bantam, when the first English expedition to Japan was despatched in 1611.

II.—WHY WAS THE LITTLE ISLAND OF HIRADO CHOSEN AS THE SEAT OF THE ENGLISH FACTORY, AND NOT NAGASAKI, WITH ITS BETTER HARBOURS AND MORE IMPORTANT TRADE?

The answer is again, that in London the enterprise of the Dutch was taken as a model. For the Dutch there were good reasons to prefer Hirado. The Daimyo of this place, Matsuura Hoin, had offered an asylum to the two most prominent Dutchmen of the shipwrecked crew with which Adams had landed in Japan: the Captain Quacokernaak and the Cape merchant Melchior van Santvoord. It was the Daimyo of Hirado who sent these two exiles in his own junk to Patani in 1605. This act of kindness was the reason that both seafaring nations considered the little island in the north-west of Kiushiu as the proper gate of entrance into Japan. We shall see how obstinately this conviction was adhered to by the first representative of the English East India Company in this country, Captain-General John Saris.

III.—DID NOT ADAMS ADVISE HIS COUNTRYMEN THAT HIRADO WAS NOT THE BEST PLACE FOR A FACTORY?

The English pioneer ship for the Japanese trade had a very slow

and bad passage round the Cape Bantam. It did not arrive there until a year and a half after weighing anchor at the mouth of the Thames, viz., in October, 1512. At Bantam they stayed three months. The Factor of the East India Company there, Augustin Spalding, showed them Adams' letter, then 18 months old, and probably told them how disappointed he was that Adams had not answered his more definite questions regarding trade in Japan. It was in my opinion the first misfortune of the earliest English expedition to this country, that Adams had delayed answering those questions for about a year. What he then did write was of the greatest value. He told them what they ought to bring, and what they could hope to export. Things of European origin would yield little or no profit. Eastern wares such as pepper, Brazil wood, and Chinese goods would always find a ready market, so he strongly recommended them to get trade with China. There would be no customs duties to pay in Japan; only a present to the Emperor (*i.e.* Iyeyasu), the King (*i.e.* Shogun Hidetada), and two or three secretaries would be required. "Now, once, (he adds), if a ship do come, let her come for the easterly part of Japan. . . . where the King's and the Emperor's Court is." "The city of Yedo lies in 36° and about this easterly part of the land there are the best harbours and a coast so clear as there is no shoals nor rocks  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from the main land. It is good also for sale of merchandise. . . . etc." He also sent them a chart of the eastern coast of Japan.

Unquestionably it was good advice, and compliance with it would have secured the success of the new enterprise. But it came too late. Adams wrote his letter at Hirado on January 12th, 1613. Two days later the English ship, the *Clive*, weighed anchor to sail *via* the Moluccas to Japan. After some trouble with the Dutch in the Spice Islands the English pioneer expedition arrived in Hirado harbour on June 11th, 1613.

IV.—HOW IS IT THAT ADAMS DID NOT USE HIS INFLUENCE WITH HIS COUNTRYMEN TO PERSUADE THEM TO REMOVE FROM HIRADO TO SOME BETTER PLACE?

We have the Report of General Saris himself about his doings in

Japan. In the beginning there were only merriment and holiday-making on shore and on board, the old Daimyo and his courtiers being frequent visitors of the English ship. No business was done except renting a house and engaging servants, until Adams should arrive. Even the Royal letter to the Daimyo was not opened until then. The conversation was carried on by means of a Japanese, whom Suris had brought from Bantam. He translated into Malay, which language Suris, as former Resident of the Bantam factory, perfectly understood. In compliance with Adams' instructions left with his agent at Hirado, Sansaburo, a messenger, was at once despatched to Uraga to fetch him. Adams was then staying at Iyeyasu's court at Shizuoka. The messenger passed by that place, heard at Uraga from Adams' wife where her husband was, and hurried back to Shizuoka, where he found Adams. This journey to and from took him a month. Adams at once went to Hirado, arriving there within 17 days. By the inadvertence of the messenger the English had to wait 48 days for their countryman. They may have found, however, some consolation in the fact that the stupid messenger was punished with banishment from Hirado.

Adams insisted on the necessity of proceeding at once to Shizuoka and Yedo, and selected suitable presents for the high personages whose favour they stood in need of. Within a week after his arrival he accompanied the General and his suite on their journey to the two courts at Shizuoka and Yedo (August 6th, 1618).

But during this one week's stay in Hirado, Adams had already fallen considerably in the estimation of his countrymen.

Here we must interrupt our narrative for a moment in order to consider what kind of man William Adams, the first Englishman residing in Japan, really was. You may find him referred to in recent literature as "an unlettered pilot," or even "the English sailor Adams;" his behaviour is described as being "sailor fashion." Now is that a true estimate? I think not. We judge the social position of a man from four different data: 1. His accomplishments. Adams was certainly a well educated man, as his knowledge of mathematics, geography, Portuguese, and Spanish sufficiently prove. 2. The position of his friends at home. He

mentions in his letter Thomas Bast, who was at that time General of the 10th expedition of the East India Company; others of his old friends were advisers, or contractors, of that Company, for Adams was originally shipright by trade. 3. The post offered to him now the position for which Adams had been engaged by the Dutch was a most honourable one. He was pilot major of a fleet, *i.e.*, he had the entire navigation of the ships under his control. I need only mention that the famous explorer John Davys, after whom the Davys Straits are called, was not ashamed to accept the post of pilot on board a Dutch East Indiaman. 4. The style of living of his wife. Adams sent to his wife, after communication by ships between Japan and England had been established, £50 and even £60 a year. That was certainly an allowance sufficient for people of the better middle classes in those times, and far in excess of the requirements of a sailor's wife. Mrs. Mary Adams was always treated with respect and consideration by the East India Company. We therefore come to the conclusion that William Adams' *milieu* was superior to that of the Englishmen he had to deal with in Japan. But, then, why did they so quickly lose their opinion of him? The answer is, that he was a man so much opposed to all ceremonies and solemn formalities, that he did not even keep up the usual appearances of decorum customary in those times. His familiarity with Spanish and Portuguese mariners, the tone of equality with which the Dutch merchants treated him, the shabby appearance of Adam's own establishment at Hirado, were sufficient indications for the English merchants that Adams was not a mighty personage and favourite at Court in the English sense, but a ready agent for all that would employ him. And they missed in their straightforward and easy-going countryman not only the dignified reserve of a substantial merchant, but also the exclusive patriotism they had expected of him. They still needed his advice and assistance on the journey to court; but they would not any more implicitly trust him.

At Shizuoka Iyeyasu showed himself most graciously disposed towards the newly arrived countrymen of his old favourite. He bade them write out themselves, what privileges they wished for. A little critical investigation of this one point alone is required in order to distinguish what was

asked, and what was granted, and what was afterwards published in England in English and Japanese as a true copy and translation of the privileges granted by the Emperor of Japan. I have been obliged to add a special appendix dealing with these "original privileges." Suffice it to say, that the English got really ampler privileges than any other nation, even the Dutch. Of special interest for us is the fact that the head of the Factory was granted exclusive jurisdiction over English criminals in Japan, and that Iyeyasu promised them ground to build their houses on if they would establish their factory at Yedo. We see from this how much Iyeyasu wished to attract the countrymen of Adams to the Eastern capital. But Saris was not inclined to listen to any argument in favour of a settlement nearer Yedo. In vain did Adams take him and his suite of 8 English and 9 Japanese to his own house at Uraga and show him by a careful survey what a splendid harbour there was.

When the party, after an absence of exactly three months, returned to Hirado on November 6th, 1613, Saris was quite satisfied with his success, and determined to carry out his original plans, while Adams was certainly not the man to conceal his disappointment about the choice of Hirado as the centre of English trade in Japan.

V.—OF WHAT PERSONS DID THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT HIRADO  
CONSIST AFTER SARIS' DEPARTURE.

It is well known that William Adams complained to the East India Company of "divers injuries done against me: the which were things to me very strange and unlooked for." But he was too noble a character to set out his grievances, as he writes, "leaving it to others to make relation thereof." Some particulars of these misunderstandings between Adams and Saris you will find in my paper; I took them from unpublished entries in Saris' Journal. Here we pass them over and simply consider the terms of Adams' engagement for the East India Company. There can be no doubt that he received £100 a year for his services; but the question is what services were expected from him in return for that allowance. I think it was understood that he need not give all his time to the service of the Company, and that he was simply retained by them,



in case there should be any business at Court or sea for which he was wanted. He was therefore prevented from going to sea on his own account, or in the employ of others. But in Japan he could attend to his own business as long as he was not expressly charged with some affair of the Company. He could also serve the Court, and was even expected and encouraged to do so, as this might prove beneficial to the Company. While acting for the Company, he received also his travelling and other expenses. Adams was not so cheap a servant of the Company as the so-called contract makes it appear at the first glance.

Leaving Adams aside, we have still seven English merchants engaged in Japan. The foremost of them was the Cape merchant Richard Cocks, who with the mercantile management combined a kind of Consular jurisdiction. He was already of advanced age and had formerly been established in the City of London. A five years' residence at Bayonne had given him full command of the Spanish language. He was a most prolific correspondent and addressed not a few of his lengthy letters to such high personages as Sir Thomas Wilson and even the Lord Treasurer Salisbury. Some of his reports from Japan were laid before King James I., who "could not be induced to believe that the things written were true, but desired to speak with the writer when he comes home." Cocks was sometimes prone to believe stories told him by his friends, but he was also an assiduous and faithful recorder of his own observations. His letters, and especially his diary, are of the highest value.

Next in rank to the chief were the two senior merchants—Tempest Peacock and Richard Wickham. They received £40 a year, besides all their expenses of living. But only one-third of their salary was paid in Japan; the remainder was put to their credit in London. Wickham stayed 4 years in Japan; he was a clever but very excitable man, whose letters show his high spirit and strong individuality often in an unpleasant way. A specimen of them is given in the second appendix of my paper. Then followed the merchants William Eaton and Edmund Fayers, who, like their chief, served the factory from beginning to end. The two youngest merchants, Walter Carwarden and William Nealson, both died at an early age before their engagement for the *Hirado*

Factory had expired. When Saris left Japan a large staff of seven English merchants, who received occasional assistance from Adams, were left behind to carry on the business.

And now we must ask: were the prospects good enough, and the capital invested large enough, for such a large number of merchants?

It was certainly not a promising feature that the *Olive*, after a stay of six months, sailed from Japan under ballast. The only things brought home from Japan by the pioneer ship were ten screens given by Iyeyasu as a present to King James, and some curiosities and picture books. But Saris was not discouraged by such a poor beginning. On his journey home he wrote out a list of things suitable for the import and export trade with Japan. In the long list of profitable imports we find but few articles of English produce, those mentioned being only woollen cloth, lead, tin, iron, steel, and all sorts of glassware. Dutch linen, Spanish soap—the Japanese word (*shabon*) is of Spanish origin—, Spanish leather, honey, wax for candles, and alum are other goods recommended in his list, that would have to be brought from Europe. Of things of a more æsthetic kind he enumerates “pictures, some lascivious, others of stories of wars by sea and land, the larger the better,” “paintings for women’s faces,” large amber beads, and branch coral. That he also recommended copper as worth importing to Japan is rather astonishing. The most important articles in his list are, however, of Eastern origin: sugar, raw silk, silk stuffs, pepper, nutmeg, camphor, and Brazil wood. In return Japan would offer for exportation: rice, saltpetre, hemp, cotton wool, a blue dye almost as good as indigo, brimstone, “rich writing boxes, trunks, cups, and dishes of all sorts and of most excellent varnish,” and “silver and gold in great abundance.” He added, however, that gold was so dear in Japan that it would not be profitable to export it. You will notice that Saris’ view about a direct exchange of goods between Japan and England was more optimistic than that of Adams.

The capital left with the English merchants in Japan was exceedingly small, amounting altogether to not more than £7,000 sterling. Nearly half of this money consisted of ryals coined for the East India Company in the Royal Mint in London. The then current trade dollar of the

Fast was a Spanish coin, called ryal of eight, because eight of them made a peso. It was at that time calculated as equal to 5s. The present Mexican dollar and consequently the Japanese silver yen is nothing else but the equivalent of this ryal of eight. The other half of the *Clove's* cargo consisted principally of English broad-cloth. This had been on its way for two years and two months. No wonder that it was moth-eaten and in bad condition, as the English had not yet learned from the Dutch the necessity of lining their boxes with lead. Then there were Indian cotton goods, pepper, Chinese gold procured at Bantam, elephants' teeth (one-sixth of the total value of the invoice) gunpowder, ordnance, and ammunition (about one-twelfth of the invoice of merchandize). How large must the profits be on this investment of £7,000 in order to cover the salaries and cost of living of seven Englishmen, and about ten Japanese interpreters and servants, Adams' allowance, and the cost of transportation!

#### VII.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ENGLISH TRADE IN JAPAN.

The English factory did not follow the policy of their Dutch rivals, which was to do business as wholesale traders, selling to Japanese shop-keepers on a credit system. They wanted to sell directly to the consumer by means of branch offices and agencies. Two branch factories were started; one at Osaka under the charge of William Eaton, the other at Yedo under Richard Wickham. A third was established under Sayers at Tsushima for the trade with Korea, which was only of short duration. The Osaka branch had two subordinate agencies: one at Sakai, the other at Kioto. There were also two sub-agencies of the Yedo branch factory, one at Shizuoka, the other at Uruga, while the central factory at Hirado kept an agency at Nagasaki with a foreign merchant established there. The factors had to visit their agencies from time to time, staying with their Japanese representatives, who were selected from among the wealthier trades-people. From this habit the Sub-agents received the appellation of the Company's "hosts" at such and such a place. With the exception of their host at Sakai, Toyazemon, these persons were not found reliable and gave much trouble to the responsible chief at Hirado.

But, despite their many branches and agencies, the English found it very difficult to sell their wares. Their chief customer was none

other than Iyeyasu, who bought the 5 pieces of English ordnance, and all the gunpowder offered to him, at good prices. The sales of the year 1614 amounted altogether to about £2,700 sterling of which one half was effected by the Yedo factory alone. The prices realized were profitable enough, being twice and thrice the cost price of the invoices and even more; but the trouble was that a large percentage of the English and Indian wares could not be sold at all in Japan. The broad-cloth, for instance, was bought by wealthy noblemen by the piece or by the *tatami* or mat (meaning a 2 yards length) for covering their saddles, armour cases, and scabbards. But while black, yellow, clove colour, mouse-colour, cinnamon, and violet were favourite colours, they would not even look at a flame colour or Venice. Some of the Indian stuffs sold well, some at poor prices only, some with which the English Factory was most plentifully provided, such as blue Byrams, Dutties, and red Zelas, not at all. Wickham very soon noticed a peculiarity in the taste of the Japanese people. They liked for their garments blue or black grounds with white-spots or stripes; if any red was introduced into the pattern, it would not sell. If one looks upon the dress of grown up people in Japan at the present day, one may still observe the same rigid exclusion of any red tint.

In order to get rid of some of his unsaleable commodities Cocks sent in the spring of 1614 a Japanese junk, the *Raguan*, to Cochin China. Two of his merchants, Peacock and Carwarden, went in her with a cargo amounting in value to £740 cost price, *i.e.*, more than one-tenth of the whole capital of the Factory. One third of this value was represented by elephants' teeth that were absolutely unsaleable in Japan; almost another third consisted of ready money, while Indian cotton stuffs formed the principal part of the remainder. This expedition was most unfortunate. Both English merchants were killed by Cochin China noblemen in revenge for some outrages committed by the Dutch. Their money and valuables were stolen by their host there, a Japanese called Mangosa, and his accomplices, and none of it was ever recovered. It was the second severe blow that fell on the Hirado Factory.

At Hirado in the meantime everything was prepared for receiving the cargo of the second English ship expected in June, 1614, with the

southern monsoon. Cocks bought a house and built a godown; then, to secure it against fire, he bought the neighbouring houses on both sides and pulled them down, so that he could lay out a garden all round their buildings. Altogether he spent £560 on the immovable property of the Factory. But, owing to the mistaken notions of the sailing instructions about the seasons of the monsoons, no ship arrived in 1614. This was no loss for the trade; for their stock of English and Indian goods was by no means exhausted even by the end of that year. The Cape Merchant found it again necessary to find a market for some of his wares elsewhere and to procure merchandise yet better suited for the Japanese market. For this purpose Adams had to buy at Nagasaki a strong junk to which the name *Sea Adventure* was given and to take her to Siam with a cargo of £1330 in ryals, £100 in Indian stuffs, and about as much in Japanese weapons and arms, fans, and dressing boxes for women. The two English merchants on board, Wickham and Sayers, were instructed to buy in Siam Brazil-wood, deer skins, raw silk, China stuffs, and shark's-skins for handles of swords. But on this voyage the *Sea Adventure* did not reach her destination. After two days' sailing the vessel sprang a leak, which made it necessary to seek shelter at one of the Loochoo islands. In the port of Napa they repaired the junk and started again southwards after a month's detention. But near the coast of Annam the 58 Japanese sailors became so unruly that Adams sailed back to Japan, arriving at the Goto islands in the end of May, 1615. Thus the second expedition of the Hirado factory was again a failure.

But in the third and fourth years of its existence the English Factory at Hirado came at last into better connection with Bantam. No less than three English ships arrived in the 10 months from September 24th, 1615, to July 22nd, 1616, the *Hozeandor*, the *Advice*, and the *Thomas*. They brought, besides cloth and Indian cotton goods (in accordance with Captain Saris' suggestions), a long list of unsaleable things, such as amber, Dutch and Silesian linen, thread, 18 looking glasses, 12 dozen glass bottles, 23 dozen knives, and, strangest of all, 23 dozen spectacles, bought in London at from 6 pence half-penny to a shilling apiece. Then there were pictures, but they had been spoiled by being

packed face to face, and the maps sent for sale had also been ruined by cockroaches. The Company had been greatly misinformed. During Saris' times some medicine bottles worth 3d. in Europe had been sold in Japan for 6s. : but now nobody would give one mace, or 5 pence, for such a trifle. A more reasonable article was English steel; but it was only saleable at double its original price. Of raw silk the *Advice* had brought only 337 catties bought at Bantam for £42 and sold in Japan at £98 per picul of 100 catties. Of other very profitable articles such as China stuffs, Siam wood, deer skins, fish skins, wax, and pepper they had brought nothing. And with such miserable cargo as they had sent out, the Directors in London hoped to realize very great profits indeed; they hoped that the silver returned from Japan might enable them to drive a great trade in the East with a small stock and eventually even to import gold and silver into England, the export of these metals to India being very distasteful both to our "State and People."

Fortunately a second expedition of the *Sea Adventure*, with Adams as Captain, returned just in time (September, 1616) to fill the coffers of the Factory with the much-needed silver of Japan. The Siam wood and deerskins brought by her and two chartered junks sold readily at far more than double the cost price, so that Cocks was enabled to spend £560 of his own earnings on trimming, provisioning, and freighting the ships sent to Bantam. The freight consisted of silver and copper for Bantam, some Japanese swords for India as presents, and a quantity of lacquered ware for England.

The first three years of the Factory at Hirado were certainly a very hard and trying beginning of an enterprise on a small scale. But they were not quite discouraging. Now, however, came a still longer period during which one misfortune and humiliation after the other befell the English traders in Japan. The years 1617, 1618, and 1619 are grouped together in the 5th Chapter of my paper, the period of humiliation.

The first lowering of their position was caused by the death of Ieyasu in May, 1616. When Cocks came to Yedo to pay his respects to the new ruler of Japan, he was told that the Charter of 1613 could not be renewed on the same terms. In order to make it impossible for the

Jesuits and friars to continue their missionary work in the disguise of merchants, no foreigner was allowed any longer to live or trade in any place except Hirado or Nagasaki. The privileges of the English nation were therefore altered so as to allow them to trade only in these two places. In vain did Cocks and Adams make a second journey to Court in the following year (1617) to petition for a restoration of their old liberties, on the ground that the English had no other but commercial interests in Japan. They were told that the Shogun wished to secure the profit of distributing the imported wares in the Interior to his own subjects. The factories and agencies at Yedo, Shizuoka, Uraga, Kyoto, Osaka, and Sakai were therefore withdrawn in 1617, and Hirado and Nagasaki became the only seats of English trade in Japan.

The second change for the worse was that the Factory remained for more than three years without communication by ship with Bantam, namely from July, 1617, to August, 1620. It was the period of keen rivalry between the English and Dutch in the Malay Archipelago. The Presidency at Bantam had so weak a position in the south that it could not spare a single ship for a voyage to Japan. What could the poor isolated Factory at Hirado do? Very little indeed in a mercantile way. They could still and they did send expeditions to Siam and Cochin China, they could and did buy from Chinese importers or Dutch mariners and sell to other Chinese or to the Japanese; and lastly they could and did buy from Japanese sellers and resell to Japanese buyers. With their capital and local experience they carried on an intermediate trade in the produce of the countries of the Far East; that was all. The expenses of their establishment were so large that they could simply keep themselves above water. Many a time when the gun of a foreign ship was heard, they went with their rowing boats out to help to tow her in, hoping that they could at last salute their own St. George's flag. But every time it turned out to be a Dutch ship, so that they were in the end teased by their rivals for their unfailing kindness in always coming to see the Dutch ships safely brought in, without ever giving them a chance to return the compliment and assistance.

But the worst was still to come. On August 9th, 1618, the English

ship the *Attendance* was brought by the Dutch as prize into Hirado harbour. Their rivals had the cruelty to bring her in, as Cocks writes, "in a bravado" and to call the attention of their Japanese friends to this scene of English humiliation. Adams, who had left the service of the Company, was at that time accompanying a Dutch embassy to the Shogun's Court. But Cocks and his merchants thought that with his help they might get redress from the Japanese Government. Cocks started again on a journey to Court, taking with him a long letter of complaint about this Dutch outrage in Hirado harbour. He had it nicely written by a caligrapher at Kyoto. The answer of the authorities in Yedo was that the Shogun would not meddle in an affair of piracy on the high seas, as he was only Lord of Japan, and not of the sea, not of other Kingdoms.

So much were the Dutch encouraged by this reply that they even assaulted their English rivals in the streets and harbour of Hirado, when in the following year, having brought in two more English prizes, the *Solomon* and the *Swan*, three prisoners on board of the latter escaped to the English Factory. They proclaimed with sound of trumpet on board of their seven ships open war against the English nation both by sea and land with fire and sword, and announced their intention to take their ships and goods and destroy their persons to the uttermost of their power. They set a price of 50 Ryals on Richard Cocks's head, and one of 30 for each of the other merchants. In an encounter in the streets of Hirado one of the Dutch assailants was wounded. The Dutch sailors thereupon made three attempts in one day to storm the English factory; but Japanese swordsmen came to the rescue of the weaker party and remained as a kind of garrison in the English house. Again did Cocks lay his complaint before the Shogun, who was then staying in Kyoto. Orders were given to the Daimyo of Hirado to hear both parties and pass judgment. But he delayed the lawsuit until the whole situation had become again changed.

This change in the affairs of the Factory at Hirado was brought about by the diplomatic action of the English Government at the Hague. King James I was determined not only to put an end to "the insupport-



able wrong and abuses lately done by the Hollanders unto his subjects in the East Indies," but also to amalgamate the chartered companies of both countries into one great concern "for the preservation and increase of navigation and traffic in the East Indies." A so-called "Treaty of Defence" was concluded on July 16th, 1619, according to which each Company had to keep twelve ships in a common "Fleet of Defence" in the Malay Archipelago and further East. At Javatra in Java a Council of Defence was constituted of both Presidencies. It sent at once ten ships (5 of each nation) on a cruise to Hirado with the following instructions: "If you meet Portuguese, Spaniards, or their adherents anywhere, assault and surprise them." The captured vessels with their crews and cargoes were to be taken to Hirado, there to be equally divided between Dutch and English. Chinese junks bound for Japan and Japanese vessels were to be left unmolested. Even in a port or on the coast of Japan, Portuguese vessels were not safe, but were to be "forced from their anchorage under the land." It was a system of wholesale piracy for which both Companies had formed their so-called Fleets of Defence, and Hirado was to be the basis of their operations. For the Dutch the change was not so noticeable; but the English now ceased to be the victims and became the partners of their piratical rivals.

There were at that time only three Englishmen left in the Hirado Factory. Five of the eight Englishmen whom Saris had left behind only 6 years and a half before had died. Peacock and Carwarden, it will be remembered, had lost their lives in that unfortunate expedition to Cochin China in 1614. Wickham died at Bantam in 1617; and Nelson was carried off by consumption at Hirado in March, 1629. A most severe loss was Adams' death (May 16th, 1620); he died near the English factory and it was probably only his ashes that were transported to Hemimura, where his grave is now situated. Sayers had been banished from Hirado by order of the Daimyo, after a Japanese nobleman had been punished for assaulting him. Thus there remained on the little island only Cocks, Eaton, and a junior clerk Osterwick, who had been sent out in 1615. Eaton wrote in a letter to the Company that the Treaty Defence was "welcome news unto us that live here." Cocks was more emphatic:

"God he praised for it (he wrote), and God grant the Dutch may as firmly follow the orders prescribed as I make no doubt the English will do."

The English Factory became simply an agency of the Fleet of Defence, and was kept very busy purveying everything required for the English ships, storing away the spoils that fell to the English share, and disposing of them at reasonable rates. The first expedition of the Fleet of Defence was not very successful. Only one ship was brought as a prize to Hirado. It was a Portuguese frigate, sailing from Manila via Macao to Japan with a Japanese Christian Joachim Diaz Hirayama as captain and four Spaniards, some Portuguese, and many Japanese merchants or passengers. The English ship *Elizabeth* of 800 tons had seized it in the Straits of Formosa. Whether this piratical act would be punished by the Japanese authorities became the question of a long lawsuit, in which the Dutch and English were victorious only because the captain and crew had committed the deadly crime of bringing two disguised missionary priests, a Spaniard and a Fleming, to Japan. After both would-be merchants had confessed their identity, the ship and some gold and silver on board became after two years' litigation the property of both companies. The unfortunate friars and the captain who had brought them to Japan were roasted to death. (August 22nd, 1622).

In the meantime two other piratical expeditions had been undertaken by the combined fleet assembled at Hirado. They proved more profitable and brought about £5000 into the coffers of the English factory, 2 frigate and seven junks having been captured. But the alliance of the two Companies was again dissolved in 1622, because the English only sent their half of the stipulated number of ships and refused to contribute for the building of Batavia-Hostilities recommenced between the Dutch and the English in the Malay Archipelago, culminating eventually in the notorious Amboyana massacre of February, 1623, for which two English Kings and the Commonwealth in vain demanded justice. In the whole Far East, i.e., all countries east of the Straits, the English East India Company withdrew in the 17th century before the more energetic Dutch Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie.

In these difficult circumstances the far outlying and isolated factory at Hirado was quite useless and even a source of weakness. Until the trouble with the Dutch was settled, it was therefore necessary to withdraw from Japan as well. Already in 1622 orders had been sent to the Presidency at Javatra to see this effected. Cocks was ordered by the President and Council at that place to return with all the moveables of the Factory, and keep only the buildings for a happier future, leaving, if need be, young Osterwick as representative behind. Unfortunately the English merchants at Hirado did not see things in the same gloomy light, as they had lately sent home valuable cargoes, chiefly of silver. Nor were they in the habit of receiving orders from anybody but the Court of Directors in London. They did not obey at once, and some special officer had to be sent to see the dissolution of the Hirado factory carried out. Sorely was Cocks to suffer at Batavia for the disobedience, and for some shortcomings of his in the management of affairs during the latter half of his career in Japan. The outstanding debts in Japan amounted to £3,200; more than half of this sum was due from the captain of the Chinaman at Hirado, who had been allowed such a large credit in consideration of his alleged influence at the court of Peking and his promise to secure privileges of trade for the English directly from the Chinese Emperor. There can be no doubt that Cocks had been greatly humbugged by this man. The sentence against Cocks by the Court at Batavia in February, 1624, was that his property was to be seized and he was sent home to be dealt with as the Court of Directors might think fit. But Cocks was not spared to see his native country again and receive final judgment there. He died on board ship on the 27th March, 1624.

The English factory at Hirado was certainly no success, as it was dissolved only 10 years after its foundation. But whether it was so decided a failure as it is generally pronounced to have been may perhaps be justly doubted. That it caused a loss of £40,000 to the East India Company is certainly a great exaggeration. Everything sent to Japan in the whole time of its existence did not amount to so much; and there were, as we have seen, considerable returns. I think the origin of that statement goes back to the calculation of a clerk in the office of the East India

Company in London, who knew that £4,000 in ready money had been sent to Japan in the beginning and that almost nothing had reached London from Japan. He probably multiplied this loss of the first year by the number of years the Hirado factory had existed, when Cocks' brother came to claim the confiscated property of the former Cape Merchant.

The real property of the English East India Company at Hirado was left in trust with the Daimyo of Hirado, but never reclaimed. We cannot even say where it was situated. The topographical appellation of "the English embankment" is still found in an old book on Hirado, but nobody can identify its position. The only trace left on the spot of the former English factory is a piece of masonry on a hill outside the town; it is part of the wall of the burying-place of the English factory and was built in 1621.

#### DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN observed, in regard to the statement of the lecturer that the document given by Purchas was not the first Japanese text printed in Europe, that it had been preceded by the title-deed of a Buddhist temple granted to the Roman Catholic missionaries at Yamaguchi, of which a facsimile is given in the volume of letters printed at Naples in 1573, and again in the Cologne reprint of 1574, half a century before Purchas. He remarked that the lecturer had given a demonstration of the position of Adams, which entirely refuted the ordinary belief that he was a mere common seaman. In fact, he had owed his favour with Iyeyasu to his knowledge of ship-building, a fact that showed he was much more than a common seaman. The title pilot also implied a high position on board a ship, corresponding more nearly to that of sailing master in a man-of-war. The lecturer had also pointed out two other facts, namely the jurisdiction given to the English factor over his own countrymen, so that he combined with his duties as Cape-merchant something of the Consular office. A good deal had been said as to extra-territorial jurisdiction that was not quite justified. The grant of it was regarded at many periods of history as a matter of course. It appeared quite natural that individuals should be judged by their own law. The prac-

tice prevailed in the middle ages, and was adopted by Turkey. In Japan, where every baron had jurisdiction over his own people, it was a recognised institution, and its embodiment in the modern Treaties, the first of which was negotiated by Mr. Harris, the United States representative of the day, was perfectly in accord with Japanese ideas. The other fact was the power of negotiating with foreign countries which the Shogun had possessed in the 17th century. The Chairman believed, however, that some time in the 19th century it became a practice to communicate information on Foreign Affairs to the Imperial Court, and he had been told that the first instance was on the occasion of the Russian visit to the northern islands of the Japanese Empire. With regard to the sales of English goods, which the lecturer had stated were sometimes at the rate of double the cost price, that might not appear so very profitable when all the charges were added, if it were remembered that a voyage took a long time in those days, and that ships came up the China Sea with the south-west monsoon and returned with the north-eastern, so that the round voyage from Malacca and Pantam would take about twelve months. That would account for the sales, even at such apparently high prices, not leaving much margin of profit. It was interesting to learn that the *Clove* on her return voyage to England carried some Japanese sailors among her crew, and that they afterwards returned to this country. The mission sent to the Pope in 1582 by some of the Kiushiu *daimyos* was of course well-known, but Japanese had been in Europe even earlier. In one of Loyola's letters (26th July, 1554) there was mention of a Japanese Christian visiting Rome, and his arrival is spoken of in a letter of 21st March, 1555. Who this Japanese was the speaker had not been able to ascertain. The Japanese at that time went abroad a good deal. To say nothing of the presence of some Japanese at Amboyna in 1622 on the occasion of the famous massacre of the English, along with whom they were subjected to indescribable tortures, there was the first Japanese convert of Saint Francis Xavier, who met him in Malacca about 1540. But even before that it might be held that Japanese frequented that part of the world. In the account of the capture of Malacca by Albuquerque in 1511 mention is made of junks from Loochoo, but if the inhabitants of

those islands were not more enterprising in those days than now it may be assumed that these so-called Loochooan junks really came from Japan.

The Chairman concluded his remarks by thanking Dr. Riess in the name of the Society for his valuable lecture.

The meeting then adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Parish Buildings, No. 54, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, the 21st December, at 3 p.m., the Rev. D.C. Greene, D.D., being elected to the chair.

It was agreed that the minutes of the previous general meeting should be taken as read.

The CHAIRMAN having consulted the meeting on the point, it was decided that the reading of the Papers prepared for the occasion should precede the transaction of the regular business of the annual meeting.

INSTRUCTIONS OF A MITO PRINCE TO HIS RETAINERS.

The CHAIRMAN accordingly called upon Professor E.W. Clement to read his paper entitled, "Instructions of a Mito Prince to his Retainers," of which the following is a summary:—

Mitsukuni, the second Tokugawa Prince of Mito, was born in 1628, assumed the government of the clan in 1661, retired in 1690 and died in 1700. He was commonly known as Mito Komon, or Mito Chunagon, because he held office as one of the Advisory Council of the Shogun; in fact, he was considered a sort of Vice Shogun; and after death he was honoured with the title Giko ("Righteous Prince"). In the government of his clan, he adopted "a wise and kind policy," and was highly esteemed by his contemporaries, especially for his learning and patriotism. He was himself a scholar and the patron of scholars, so that he has been aptly called the "Japanese Mæcenas." His literary labours, carried on with the assistance of Shu Shunsui, one of the Chinese scholars who fled to Japan from their native land on the overthrow of the Ming dynasty by the Tartars, were very extensive. Most famous of all, of course, is the *Dai Nihon Shi*, a standard work on the history of Japan. For further information concerning Mitsukuni and his work, I beg leave to refer to my papers on "The Tokugawa Princes of Mito," "The

Mito Civil War," and "Chinese Refugees of the Seventeenth Century in Mito," in the Transactions of this Society.\*

One of the smaller of his productions was a little pamphlet entitled "Giko Meirei" ("Giko's Instruction"), or, more fully, "The Instructions of Mitsukuni, Mito Komon, to his Retainers." A copy of this was presented to me during my residence in Mito, and seemed to be worth reproducing in English. It is true, of course, that such instructions were commonly issued by the princes during the feudal period, and may, perhaps, be picked up without difficulty. But probably no better one can be obtained from any other source as merely a sample of such documents; and Mitsukuni's reputation as a prince and as a scholar seemed to be a guarantee that his instructions would be different from those of other princes. I take great pleasure, therefore, in submitting the following as the gist of his official instructions, probably given orally to his retainers, and afterwards published in pamphlet form:—

#### PREFACE.

The reason why I now propose to offer my humble opinion in detail as to what I think we must bear in mind is, that both you and I, together developing in righteousness and correcting evils, may not be ashamed to be compared with the honourable lords and retainers of ancient times, and may make ourselves well qualified to be referred to in the future, by way of illustration, as ideal lord and retainers. I ask you to appreciate my inmost heart and give me your opinions and counsel in all things and on all occasions. In ancient times sagacious princes invited the remonstrances of their retainers. How much more reason is there that I, who, without any merit, became prince through the accumulated virtues of my ancestors, be anxious morning and evening lest I should act contrary to your wishes and violate the principles which should govern the conduct of a prince. I beg, therefore, that you will kindly inform me without reserve of anything which is not right in my private conduct in all matters pertaining to the administration of my province. Among such matters the government of the province is one which con-

\* Vol. XVIII., Part I.; Vol. XIX., Part II.; and Vol.; XXIV.

earns the people, however trivial the question at issue may be. Therefore, as small matters even are of importance, I am bound to receive your instructions on the subject. You should not act in this matter with reserve. I fear, however, that you may be actuated by the feeling that what you say would offend me. And you may shrink from repeating your warning, because I have shown myself to be so unworthy as to become angry at a sharp remonstrance directed against my private misdemeanours. Should such a feeling ever rise on my part, it will be only momentary, for I affirm with bow and arrow† that my real desire is what I am now expressing to you. Therefore, as I have no wish to conceal anything from other persons, I implore you to remonstrate with me, without regard to my feelings, about anything, no matter what it may be, which you may see or hear or which others may tell you. Whether it be true or false does not matter. If it be, for instance, that I am too much inclined, even in a slight degree, to amusements or wilfulness that I am too fond of women; that there is too much extravagance in my household; that I am haughty on account of my position or ability; that I do not heed advice; that I am unjust in the bestowal of rewards and punishments; that I keep worthy retainers at a distance and encourage flatterers; that I neglect learning and military preparations; that I have no sympathy with my retainers and the peasants; that I have a passion for useless articles; that I squander money; that I devote myself too much to building; that I forget what I owe to my position; these, and many other things which may occur to you, call for remonstrance. With reference to such things, you may place your views before me, when we meet, either orally or in writing. If it is a matter which should not be made public, you may send me a confidential letter, which, of course, no one else will be allowed to read or to delay in delivering to me.

#### Section I.—LEARNING.

Learning is nothing else than knowledge of the Way in which men should walk, and is necessary above all things. It should not be superficial or obtained from a merely selfish motive. It includes not merely reading, but also meditation and good behaviour; and in some cases it

† An oath used by *samurai*.



may be acquired simply by listening to well-informed friends. The works recommended for a course of study include "Shogaku," "Shisho" ["Daigaku," "Chuyo," "Rongo" and "Mencius"]; "Kinshiroku" [a commentary by Shushi on Chinese philosophy]; and if, possible, "Gokyo" ("Five Classics"), including "Ekikyo" (a treatise on chances or changes), "Shokyo" (a treatise on moral and religious topics), Shikyo (a treatise on poetry), "Shunju" (an historical work), and "Raiki" (a treatise on etiquette); these, of course, are all works of Confucius and his disciples.

#### Section II.—FILIAL PIETY.

#### Sections III., IV.—FIDELTY.

The true *samurai* must have a heart as firm as iron and stone; but he must also be a man of gentleness and mercy. He must not be hypocritical but perfectly sincere.

Section V.—Politeness and Humility. Section VI.—Simplicity. Section VII.—Honesty. Section VIII.—Etiquette. Sections IX., X.—Military Preparations.

#### Sections XI., XII.—MOURNING.

Cremation strictly forbidden. Fifty days' mourning for parents. Decorous conduct during period of mourning.

#### Section XIII.—Informers.

#### Section XIV.—FEASTS.

Very plain supper at social gatherings. Entertainment does not necessarily mean nice liquor and delicious food, but rather a warm reception and kind treatment. Story about Hojo Tokiyori and Taira Nobutoki.

Section XV.—Military Equipments. Section XVI.—Buildings. Section XVII.—Philanthropy.

#### Section XVIII.—DUTIES OF *Samurai*.

There are four classes,—*Shi*, *Nō*, *Kō* and *Shō*. Each has its own business. Those belonging to the *Nō* class are devoting themselves to agriculture; those of the *Kō* class are promoting industry; while those

of the *Shō* class are engaged in trade. All of these three classes contribute something towards benefiting human society. What, then, is the *Shi* class? Its only business is to preserve or maintain *giri*, ("right"). The people of the other classes deal with visible things, while the *samurai* deal with invisible, colourless, and unsubstantial things. Some may think, therefore, that the members of the *Shi* class are entirely unnecessary. But, if there were no *samurai*, right (*giri*) would disappear from human society, the sense of shame would be lost, and wrong and injustice would prevail. Therefore, *samurai* must be unselfish and manly and pursue a straight-forward course, regardless of their own interests. Story about Kogikyū, a Chinese official, who would allow no vegetables to be raised or clothes to be woven on his premises, because salaried *samurai* should not compete with the common people in pursuit of gain and deprive the latter of their means of livelihood; *samurai* should not be actuated by avarice or selfishness, but should always act in accordance with the principle of *giri*, as expounded by the ancient sages. "Now I have no further instruction to give."

Note A.—It was on the fourteenth day of the tenth month, in the third year of Genroku (1690), that Prince Mitsukuni became 63 years of age. On the following day he retired from active service and was honored by the Shogun with appointment to the position of Gon-Chunagon. With reference to this promotion he wrote the following poem:—

*Kurai-yama*  
*Noboru mo kurushi*  
*Oi no mi wa;*  
*Fumoto no sato ni*  
*Sumi yokari keri.*

"The ascent of the mount of rank is difficult for such an aged person; it is better to dwell in the village at the base." There is probably a pun in the expression "*Kurai-yama*," which may mean also "dark mount," and would then refer to the unforeseen future. Prince Mitsukuni was certainly not an ambitious man, and at that advanced age might well dread promotion to a responsible position at the court of the Shogun.

Being a scholarly man, he much preferred retirement from active, public life in the quiet and beauty of Nishiyama, a few miles north from Mito. There he died in 1700.

Mr. GUBBINS then read a short paper, intended to be supplementary to that read by Professor Clement, on the Laws of the Tokugawa period. In this he remarked that it was hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that the instructions given by Prince Mitsukuni to his retainers were part of a whole system of laws and regulations issued under the Tokugawa administration. These were of various kinds, were issued under many different titles, and covered a wide field, their range embracing administrative matters, ceremonial etiquette, religion, family law, ethical teaching, and official duties, and including even precepts for guidance of the Throne and regulations for the Imperial Household. As a rule they concerned only the military class, and the titles under which they were issued varied with the source from which they emanated and the scope of their application. Some were issued directly by the governing Shogun, others by the Council of State, or some prominent statesman of the day, and some again were issued by local Daimios for the guidance of their retainers. To this last category the Prince of Mito's instructions seemed to belong. Quoting from a manual of the military class printed in 1838, the writer gave some particulars in regard to the issue of one set of Tokugawa laws.—the "General Laws of the Military Class," and a precis of these laws taken from the text published in the manual in question. In conclusion the writer observed that his paper touched only the fringe of the subject, which he hoped to be able to treat more fully on a future occasion. The little he had placed before the meeting, was however, perhaps sufficient to indicate how wide the subject was, and what large sources of information for those who sought to know more of Japan in her feudal days this class of literature contained.

The CHAIRMAN, on rising, thanked Professor Clement and Mr. Gubbins on behalf of the Society for their interesting and valuable papers which deserved an important place in its Transactions. He expressed his deep regret that the unavoidable absence of the honoured

President of the Society deprived it for the time of the benefit of the full information upon the general subject embodied in these essays which was at his disposal,—a subject which deserved the careful attention of all who wished to prepare themselves to understand the institutions and life of modern Japan. Hence all students, whether members of the Society or not, would wait with much eagerness for the more comprehensive paper which Mr. Gubbins had kindly promised.

BUSINESS.

The regular business of the meeting was then proceeded with.

The CHAIRMAN called upon the Corresponding Secretary to read the following Report of the Council for the Session 1898:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

In spite of the paucity of meetings which characterized the early portion of the Session now drawing to a close, the Society was able to add to its Transactions by the publication of a Supplement to Volume XXIV., consisting of a valuable paper on the Flora of Formosa. Later on in the Session an increased activity became apparent in its proceedings, and although the record of the year's work shows only one lecture and two meetings at which papers were read, those papers alone will furnish sufficient materials for another volume in addition to Volume XXV., which is now in the press, and judging by the number and character of papers which have been promised, and are in course of preparation, there is every reason to expect that the ensuing session will compare favourably with many of its predecessors.

Seven new names have been added to the List of members during the session, two deaths of members have occurred, and there have been three resignations.

It will be seen from the Treasurer's Report; which, with the other usual appendixes, will be attached to the next Volume of the Transactions, that the finances of the Society are in a flourishing condition, the balance now standing to the Society's credit being yen 2,275  $\frac{2}{10}$

The Council are glad to be able to announce the completion of the work of arranging the Library, which is now open for the benefit of

members, and they take this opportunity to mention that several interesting books have been presented to the Library by the Authors.

This Report having been adopted, the Librarian explaining that his Report was included in it, the Treasurer read his Annual Report, which was accepted.

#### NEW OFFICERS

The meeting then proceeded to the election of the officers for the coming year. The outgoing Council submitted the following list of names of officers to form the Council for the Session 1899, which was unanimously approved :—

President—Sir Ernest M. Satow.

Vice-President (Tokio)—The Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D.

Vice-President (Yokohama)—H. S. Wilkinson, Esq.

Corresponding Secretary and Recording Secretary (Tokyo)—J. H. Gubbins, Esq.

Recording Secretary (Yokohama)—H. G. Parlett, Esq.

Treasurer—J. McD. Gardiner, Esq.

Librarian—E. W. Clement, Esq.

Councillors—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., Dr. E. Divers, A. H. Lay, Esq., the Rev. A. Lloyd, Olay Mac Cauley, Esq., W.B. Mason, Esq., R. Masujima, Esq., R. S. Miller, Esq., M. Revon, Esq., and the Rev. W. J. White.

The CHAIRMAN declared the meeting adjourned at 4.45 p.m.

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## APPENDIX A.

## LIST OF PAPERS DURING THE SESSION OF 1898.

The History of the English Factory at	
Hirado, ... ..	...By Dr. L. RIENS.
Instructions of a Mito Prince to his Re-	
tainers, ... ..	...By Professor E. W. CLEMENT
Laws of the Tokugawa Period, ...	...By Mr. J. H. GUBBINS.

## APPENDIX B.

THE HONORARY TREASURER IN ACC'T WITH ASIATIC SOCIETY  
OF JAPAN.

Dec. 15th, 1898.

DR.

To Bal. from last year ... ..	1940.13
" Entrance Fees... ..	25.00
" Annual Subscriptions... ..	408.54
" Life Subscriptions ... ..	84.50
" Sale of Transactions ... ..	376.97
" Interest at Banks ... ..	102.18
	<hr/>
	2937.32

Dec. 15th, 1898.

CR.

By Messrs. Meiklejohn & Co., Printing Vol. XXIV,	
Suppt. ... ..	173.70
By Cash for Stationery, Postage, etc. ... ..	61.35
" " " Library Expenses ... ..	168.65
" " " Caretaker ... ..	6.00
" Rent No. 54, Tsukiji, 1 year... ..	100.00
" Insurance. ... ..	75.00
" Jno. Foster Fraser, Lecture on Burmah and Adver-	
tising ... ..	77.00

" Balances M. B. G. R. Special c/a, ...	1631.54	
"                  c/a, ... ..	479.34	
H. K. & S. B. c/a, ... ..	161.00	
Cash ... ..	3.74	2275.62
		<hr/>
		2937.32
		<hr/>

E. & O. E., J. McD. GARDINER, Hon. Treasurer.

Examined and Compared with vouchers and found correct.

W. JNO. WHITE, }  
RICHARD J. KIRBY, } ...Auditors.

#### APPENDIX C.

List of Exchanges of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Academy of Sciences, Lincoln Park, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

American Geographical Society, New York City, U.S.A.

      " Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.

      " Philological Society, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

      " Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Austria.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, Sydney.

Bataviasch Genootschap, Notulen.

Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta.

Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D.C.

Bureau of Education, " "

Canadian Institute, Toronto.

China Review, Hongkong.

Chinese Recorder, Shanghai.

Cosmos de Guido Cora, Torino.

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur und Volkerkunde Ostasiens, Tokyo.

Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

- Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada, Ottawa.  
 Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Cambridge,  
 Mass., U.S.A.  
 Imperial Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg.  
 Imperial University of Japan, Tōkyō.  
 Japan Society, London.  
 Japan Weekly Mail, Tōkyō.  
 Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.  
 Journal Asiatique, Paris.  
 Musée Guimet, Lyons.  
 Pekin Oriental Society, Pekin.  
 Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, London.  
     "     "     "     Bombay Branch.  
     "     "     "     Ceylon Branch, Colombo.  
     "     "     "     Chira Branch, Shanghai.  
     "     "     "     Straits Branch, Singapore.  
 Royal Dublin Society, Kildare St., Dublin.  
 Royal Geographical Society, London.  
 Royal Society, London.  
     "     "     of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland.  
     "     "     Sydney, New South Wales.  
     "     "     Adelaide, South Australia.  
 Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.  
 Sociedad Geografica de Madrid, Madrid.  
 Sociedad de Geographia de Lisbon, Portugal.  
 Société d'Anthropologie, Paris.  
 Société de Geographie, Paris.  
 State Historical Society Madison, Wis., U.S.A.  
 United States Geological Survey, Washington, D.C.  
     "     "     Dept. of Agriculture, "     "  
 Vereins für Erdkunde zu Leipzig.
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## APPENDIX D.

## TRANSACTIONS IN STOCK.

November 1, 1898.

Vol. I	single part	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
" II	single part	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	74
" III	Part 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	137
" "	" 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	187
" "	Appendix	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	68
" IV	single part	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	194
Vol. V	part 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	191
" "	" 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	209
" VI	" 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	191
" "	" 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	230
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" VII	" 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	223
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" "	" 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	250
" "	" 4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	236
" VIII	" 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	35
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APPENDIX E.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

"The Bamboo Garden," by A. B. Freeman-Mitford.

"Hand Book of Colloquial Japanese (Third Edition)," by B. H. Chamberlain.

"Introductory Course in Japanese," by Clay Macauley.

"The Civil Code of Japan," translated by J. H. Gubbins.

"Los Querandies," by Felix F. Outes.

"The Dolmens and Burial Mounds of Japan," by W. Gowland.

"The New Testament in Wenli," by Bishop Schereschewsky.

## LIST OF MEMBERS

---

### HONORARY MEMBERS.

- Arnold, K.C.S.I., Sir Edwin, Daily Telegraph Office, London, England.  
 Aston, C.M.G., W. G., The Bluff, Beer, E. Devon, England.  
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### LIFE MEMBERS.

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THE  
CONSTITUTION & BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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*Revised March, 1897.*



# THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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*Revised March, 1897.*

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## NAME AND OBJECTS.

- ART. I. The Name of the Society shall be THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.
- ART. II. The object of the Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to Japan and other Asiatic Countries.
- ART. III. Communications on other subjects may, within the discretion of Council, be received by the Society, but shall not be published among the Papers forming the Transactions.

## MEMBERSHIP.

- ART. IV. The Society shall consist of Honorary and Ordinary Members.
- ART. V. Honorary Members shall be admitted upon special grounds, to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Japan, and shall not pay an entrance fee or annual subscription.

## MEMBERSHIP.

- ART. VI. Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five *yen* and subscription for the current year. Those resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Five *yen*. Those not resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Three *yen*.

Any Member elected after June 30th shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his election

unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Ordinary members resident in Japan may become life members :—

- a. On election by paying the entrance fee and the sum of fifty *yen* ;
- b. At any time afterwards within a period of twenty years by paying the sum of fifty *yen*, less *yen* 2.50 for each year of membership ;
- c. After the expiration of twenty years on application to the Treasurer without further payment.

Ordinary members not resident in Japan may become life members :—

- a. On election by paying the entrance fee and the sum of thirty *yen* ;
- b. At any time afterwards within a period of twenty years by paying the sum of thirty *yen*, less *yen* 1.50 for each year of membership ;
- c. After the expiration of twenty years on application to the Treasurer without further payment.

Members hitherto resident in Japan who leave it with the intention of residing permanently abroad shall for the purpose of their subsequent subscriptions, or life-membership, be regarded as members not resident in Japan, provided the Treasurer is notified of their change of residence.

**ART. VII.** The Annual Subscription shall be payable in advance, on the 1st of January in each year.

Any Member failing to pay his subscription for the current year by the 30th of June shall be reminded of his omission by the Treasurer. If his subscription still remains unpaid on the 31st of December of that year, he shall be considered to have resigned his Membership.

**ART. VIII.** Every Member shall be entitled to receive the publications of the Society during the period of his Membership.

## OFFICERS.

- ART. IX.     The Officers of the Society shall be :—  
A President.  
Two Vice-Presidents.  
A Corresponding Secretary.  
Two Recording Secretaries.  
A Treasurer.  
A Librarian.

## COUNCIL.

- ART. X.     The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council composed of the Officers for the current year and ten ordinary Members.

## MEETINGS.

- ART. XI.     General Meetings of the Society and Meetings of the Council shall be held as the Council shall have appointed and announced.
- ART. XII.     The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in December, at which the Council shall present its Annual Report and the Treasurer's Statements of Accounts, duly audited by two Members nominated by the President.
- ART. XIII.     Nine Members shall form a quorum at an Annual Meeting, and Five Members at a Council Meeting. At all Meetings of the Society and Council, in the absence of the President and Vice-President, a Chairman shall be elected by the Meeting. The Chairman shall not have a vote unless there is an equality of votes.
- ART. XIV.     Visitors (including representatives of the Press) may be admitted to the General Meetings by Members of the Society, but shall not be permitted to address the Meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.



## ELECTIONS.

- ART. XV. All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of the Council, and balloted for at the next, one black ball in five to exclude; and their Election shall be announced at the General Meeting following.
- ART. XVI. The Officers and other Members of Council shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for one year.
- ART. XVII. The Council shall fill up all Vacancies in its Membership which occur between Annual Meetings.

## PUBLICATION.

- ART. XVIII. The published Transactions of the Society shall contain :—
- (1) Such papers and notes read before the Society as the Council shall have selected, and an abstract of the discussion thereon :
  - (2) The Minutes of the General Meetings :
  - (3) And at the end of each annual volume, the Reports and Accounts presented to the last Annual Meeting, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society and a List of Members.
- ART. XIX. Twenty-five separate copies of each published paper shall be placed at the disposal of the author and the same number shall be reserved by the Council to be disposed of as it sees fit.
- ART. XX. The Council shall have power to distribute copies of the Transactions at its discretion.
- ART. XXI. The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance.

**ART. XXII.** Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Society and cannot be published anywhere without consent of the Council.

Acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Society does not bind the Society to its publication afterwards. But when the Council has decided not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be restored to the author without any restriction as to its further use.

### **MAKING OF BY-LAWS.**

**ART. XXIII.** The Council shall have power to make and amend By-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution; and a General Meeting, by a majority vote, may suspend the operation of any By-Law.

### **AMENDMENTS.**

**ART. XXIV.** None of the foregoing Articles of the Constitution can be amended except at a General Meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the Members present, and only if due notice of the proposed Amendment shall have been given at a previous General Meeting.

## BY-LAWS.

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### GENERAL MEETINGS.

- ART. I.** The Session of the Society shall coincide with the Calendar Year, the Annual Meeting taking place in December.
- ART. II.** Ordinarily the Session shall consist of nine monthly General Meetings; but it may include a less or greater number when the Council finds reason for such a change.
- ART. III.** The place and time of Meeting shall be fixed by the Council, preference being given when the Meeting is held in Tokyo, to 4 p.m. on the Second Wednesday of each month. The place of meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.
- ART. IV.** Timely notice of every General Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member resident in Tokyo or Yokohama.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS AT GENERAL MEETINGS.

- ART. V.** The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be :—
- (1) Action on the Minutes of the last Meeting ;
  - (2) Communication from the Council ;
  - (3) Miscellaneous Business ;
  - (4) The Reading and Discussion of papers.
- The above order shall be observed except when the Chairman shall rule otherwise.
- At Annual Meetings the Order of Business shall include, in addition to the foregoing matters :—
- (5) The Reading of the Council's Annual Report and Treasurer's account, and submission of these for the action of the Meeting upon them ;

- (6) The Election of Officers and Council as directed by Article XVI. of the Constitution.

### MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

- ART. VI. The Council shall appoint its own Meetings, preference as to time being given to 4. P. M. on the First Wednesday of each month.
- ART. VII. Timely notice of every Council Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member of the Council, and shall contain a statement of any extraordinary business to be done.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS.

- ART. VIII. The Order of Business at Council Meetings shall be :
- (1) Action upon the Minutes of last Meeting ;
  - (2) *Reports* of the Corresponding Secretary,  
of the Publication Committee,  
of the Treasurer,  
of the Librarian,  
and of Special Committees ;
  - (3) The Election of Members ;
  - (4) The Nomination of Candidates for Membership of the Society ;
  - (5) Miscellaneous Business ;
  - (6) Acceptance of papers to be read before the Society ;
  - (7) Arrangement of the Business of the next General Meeting.

### PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

- ART. IX. There shall be a standing Committee entitled the Publication Committee and composed of the Secretaries, the Librarian, and any Members appointed by the Council. It

shall ordinarily be decided over by the Corresponding Secretary.

It shall carry through the publication of the Transactions of the Society, and the re-issue of Parts out of print.

It shall report periodically to the Council and act under its authority.

It shall audit the accounts for printing the Transactions.

It shall not allow author's manuscripts or printer's proofs of these to go out of its custody for other than the Society's purposes.

## DUTIES OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ART. X. The Corresponding Secretary shall :—

1. Conduct the Correspondence of the Society ;
2. Arrange for and issue notice of Council Meetings, and provide that all official business be brought duly and in order before each Meeting ;
3. Attend every Council Meeting or give notice to the Recording Secretary that he will be absent ;
4. Notify new officers and Members of Council of their appointment and send them each a copy of the By-Laws ;
5. Notify new Members of the Society of their election and send them copies of the Articles of Constitution and of the Library Catalogue ;
6. Unite with the Recording Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication all matter as defined in Article XVIII. of the Constitution ;
7. Act as Chairman of the Publication Committee, and take first charge of authors' manuscripts and proofs struck off for use at Meetings.

## RECORDING SECRETARIES.

ART. XI. Of the Recording Secretaries, one shall reside in Tōkyō and one in Yokohama, each having ordinarily duties only in connection with Meetings of the Society or its Council held in the place where he resides.

## DUTIES OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

ART. XII. The Recording Secretary shall ;—

1. Keep Minutes of General Meetings ;
2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council, and notify Members resident in Tōkyō and Yokohama ;
3. Inform the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the election of new Members.
4. Attend every General Meeting of Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Members of Council to perform his duties and forward to him the Minute Book ;
5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence ;
6. Act on the publication Committee ;
7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication the Minutes of the General Meetings and the Constitution and By-laws of the Society ;
8. Furnish abstracts of Proceedings at General Meetings to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

## DUTIES OF TREASURER.

ART. XIII. The Treasurer shall :—

1. Take charge of the Society's Fund in accordance with the instructions of the Council.

2. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors, and present the Annual Balance sheet to the Council duly audited before the date of the Annual Meeting ;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and Report when requested upon the money affairs of the Society, or in case of absence depute some Member of the Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary ;
4. Notify new members of the amount of entrance fee and subscription then due ;
5. Collect subscriptions and notify Members of their unpaid subscriptions once in or about January and again in or about June ; apply to Agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing to the Society ;
6. Pay out all Monies for the Society under the direction of the Council, making no single payment in excess of Ten Dollars without special vote of the Council.
7. Inform the Librarian when a new Member has paid his entrance fee and first subscription ;
8. Submit to the Council at its January Meeting the names of Members who have not paid their subscription for the past year ; and, after action has been taken by the Council, furnish the Librarian with the names of any Members to whom the sending of the Transactions is to be suspended or stopped.
9. Prepare for publication the List of Members of the Society.

#### DUTIES OF LIBRARIAN.

#### XIV.

The Librarian shall :—

1. Take charge of the Society's Library and stock of Transactions, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library, and superintend

- the binding and preservation of the books ;
2. Carry out the Regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books ;
  3. Send copies of the Transactions to all Honorary Members, to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for dues according to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals, the names of which are on the list of Exchanges ;
  4. Arrange with booksellers and others for the sale of the Transactions as directed by the Council, send the required number of each issue to the appointed agents, and keep a record of all such business.
  6. Draw up List of Exchanges of Journals and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report ;
  7. Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council ;
  8. Present to the Council at its November Meeting a statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society ;
  9. Act on the Publication Committee ;
  10. Attend every Council Meeting and report on Library matters, or if absent. send to the corresponding Secretary a statement of any matter of immediate importance.

### LIBRARY AND MEETING ROOM.

ART. XV. The Society's Rooms and Library shall be in Tsukijī, Tōkyō, to which may be addressed all letters and parcels not sent to the private address of the corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, or Librarian.

ART. XVI. The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the book cases being



in the possession of the Librarian or other Members of Council resident in the neighbourhood : and books may be borrowed on applying to the Librarian.

### SALE OF TRANSACTIONS.

**ART. XVII.** A Member may obtain at half-price for his own use copies of any Part of the Transactions.

**ART. XVIII.** The Transactions shall be on sale by Agents approved of by the Council and shall be supplied to these Agents at discount price fixed by the Council.





N. L.  
W

*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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